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A LIFE'S DECISION

By the same Author.

PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM :
THE RESULT OF A LIFE.

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A LIFE'S DECISION

BY

T. W. ALLIES, M.A.

AUTHOR OF 'PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM, THE RESULT OF A LIFE'

'JOURNAL IN FRANCE AND LETTERS FROM ITALY'

'THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM'

ETC.

'I have chosen to be an abject in the house of my God rather than
to dwell in the tents of sinners'—*Psalms lxxxiii. 11*



LONDON

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1880

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TO MY SOLE PARTNER IN THESE TRIALS
THE MORE HELPLESS AND YET THE MORE COURAGEOUS
THE QUICKER TO SEE THE TRUTH
THE READIER TO EMBRACE IT
THE FIRST TO SURRENDER HER HOME IN THE BLOOM OF
HER YOUTH
WHO CHOSE WITHOUT SHRINKING THE LOSS I HAD
BROUGHT ON HER
AND BY HER CHOICE DOUBLED MY GAIN

PROLOGUE.

THE AUTHOR published lately, under the title 'Per Crucem ad Lucem, the Result of a Life,' two volumes which contain a collection of treatises all tending to the illustration of one subject, whose study had been imposed upon him as an inexorable duty rather than self-chosen with any literary purpose. The present narrative has an intimate relation to those volumes. As they were abstract, this is personal. As they give intellectual conclusions, this delineates the inward growth, of which they are the outcome. It is the tree upon which that fruit grew. I think therefore that I am right in calling it 'A Life's Decision,' for it was not a single act, but the determination of a whole future course.

Again, to uproot a tree when the fibres through which it draws nourishment from its parent soil have found their congenial mould, and the tree itself has reached its full growth, requires no common force. I have endeavoured to describe in the following nar-

rative the nature of that force, and to note its successive heavings.

Books of this kind are usually published after the writer's death. However, length of time gives something of death's privilege. Our very self becomes objective by distance. In public life, thirty years are not only enough to change most of the chief actors in the world's history, but to enable a student of it to judge without bias of its course, or at least to see things in their due proportions. And so, too, in an individual life, one who looks back after that interval can almost estimate his own course as if it were that of another.

But if time tends to make judgment correct and distinct, it weakens feelings and impressions. Assuredly I could not, writing in 1880, reproduce the struggle which I went through in the five years which ended in 1850. My narrative, in fact, was written in 1853, for the instruction of children then in infancy. The mental history, which I desired not to be a blank to them, was then with all its details fresh in the memory. Not only this, but as it was even then drawn from the pencillings down of each day's conflict as it occurred, it gives the thoughts and feelings of one who was wrestling at the time for his life amid wind and sea, and knew not whether he should ever gain the shore. The value of such thoughts lies in their reality, to which their freshness testifies; and I leave them as they were written,

having altered no judgment which they express. But also I have no need to alter in 1880 what I then said. As a fact, this narrative lay in a drawer for twenty-five years, entirely forgotten, until it was seen by one of those children for whose sake it was composed. He urged me to publish it, and in doing this I have only added some passages needful to introduce the letters of various correspondents, which I had not originally inserted, but all of which strictly enter into my life, while some almost make a part of its decision.

Having done this, I found it natural to link the present and the past together, and throwing back a glance at the long period of thirty years which has since run out, I was led to estimate the result which a generation has had upon that school of thought to which I once belonged; if, indeed, it be correct to give the name of a school to endlessly varying shades of individual minds, which seemed for the moment to be looking in the same direction, but no doubt were each ruled by a distinct and responsible choice, in which the end will show the man.

My thanks are due to his Eminence Cardinal Newman, to his Eminence Cardinal Manning, to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, to the Bishop of Salisbury, and to Lord Coleridge, on behalf of the late Mr. Justice Coleridge, for permission to insert their several letters in this narrative. Others of my correspondents, some of them dearly valued friends, are

dead, whose permission I could no longer ask ; while the letters exchanged with the late Dr. Samuel Wilberforce seemed scarcely private, but rather documents, attesting how, in 1849, the then Bishop of Oxford, with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner), and the Bishop of London (Blomfield) treated the publishing of a book, whose writer professed belief in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in the sacramental value of Confession, and in the intercession of Saints—doctrines, and practices, which Ritualists have since striven to introduce into their communion. It has seemed to the writer a notable fact that they now ground the very existence of that communion on precisely those points, for the fair statement and praise of which, not for carrying them out in practice, I was summoned thirty years ago to resign the office of teaching in it, on pain of being considered dishonest.

LONDON : *March* 24, 1880.

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A LIFE'S DECISION.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATION.

September 22, 1853.

By what grace of God, by what concurrence of my own will with that grace, by what gradual steps, and amid what conflicting currents of passions, interests, and convictions—being born and bred a Protestant, and having, when my education was completed, after three years' travel in Catholic countries, not only no inclination towards Catholicism, but the strongest prejudice against it—I yet, in after times, when my course in life was taken, when all external well-being and prosperity for myself, my wife, and my children, were inextricably linked with my continuing to be a Protestant, when, moreover, the first affection of my heart had been given to the Anglican Church, and I had for more than twelve years been one of her ministers, and had found unexpected honour and emolument as such—how, I repeat, after all this I became what I once had hated, a Catholic—this, for my own remembrance in future years, if

God have such in store for me, and still more for my children who come after me, is the subject of what I am about to write.

For three years this writing has been delayed, because for much of that time I was without fixed dwelling or plan for the future, and during the whole of it, save the last two months, was too depressed in spirits, and anxious as to my means of living, to face such an effort, and to venture, *per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*, over the ruins and scorix of memory. No doubt, impressions would have been keener had I commenced this, as I purposed and much wished, two years ago; but as often as I attempted to sit down to it, my heart failed, and it was put off to a morrow which seemed never to arrive. It is only since by the acquisition of a fixed position my anxiety has been greatly mitigated that I have felt sufficiently composed to attempt this task.

It is, I think, most difficult to remember what one was in past times; and the very feelings and impressions, which are so entirely part of one at the moment they happen that it is as irksome to put them down as to hear truisms solemnly inculcated, in the course of time so utterly fade away or are altered that it is one of the hardest things in the world to recover them. Perhaps in a perfectly sound state of mind one thinks as little of what one is, as in a perfectly sound state of body one feels the operation of digestion. This is all-important to the

human frame; but in proportion as it does its work well, it is unfelt; and feeling indicates more or less of disease. I would that I had always continued a journal which I kept for several years, until, at the crisis of a great sorrow, it was given up, when all introspection was insupportable, and never resumed. If, again, at certain fixed periods, I had given an account of myself, my position and prospects, the present task would have been comparatively easy. But this I have rarely done. Now, recovering past impressions to the best of my power, I shall have this one thing in view, as the *idea* of the whole, *to trace the joint operation of grace and free-will, or the mode pursued by God from 1837 to 1850 in leading me out of heresy into the Church.*

The early piety of my mother applied to her own life the words of our Lord, 'What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' It is, I believe, quite true of every life. *Looking back*, those who have the will may see clearly the Divine Hand, guiding us by a touch as slight as that of one's partner in the dance, but as easy to follow¹—a touch which it is quite at our option all the time *not* to follow, which does not force the will, yet is sufficient, if disregarded, to judge and condemn it. It is thus looking back that reverses are *seen*, what faith bids us believe without seeing, to be blessings.

¹ De Bammerville in conversation used this image to me as characterising the operations of grace.

And this opening of our vision as to the past is but an anticipation of what will take place to the disembodied spirit in a far higher degree. One reason of it is, that *trial* as regards the past is over: it only concerns the future. The life of faith, and that of sight, are to a great degree incompatible; this is why '*prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit Deus.*' But when He has passed by, He permits us, if we will look back, to see His skirts, and to judge of Him as to the future by what we discern of the past. Thus '*nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,*' I mean to do, well aware that, for all I know, my own course may be on the very point of terminating, as I have just seen in a sister, eight years, and a cousin nine years younger than myself, one of whom at least, ten weeks ago, I should have thought as likely to live as myself.

I commence this sketch with the year 1837, because my life then encountered a great change. God took me and cast me into a furnace seven times heated, and I came out a fresh creature. Feebly and most imperfectly at first, I yet then began to make Him my object, whereas the world had occupied me before. I came back from several years' travelling quite unsettled, perfectly irreligious, desirous of distinction, but with self for my sole idol. I had intended to go abroad again, to Germany. Instead of this I fell into a great sorrow, in consequence of which for some time I hovered between life and

death, so keen was the stroke. In the meantime I was determined by this to take Anglican orders, and to give up a roving life. Curious as the mixture of motives now seems to me, yet I did not take orders without the strongest resolutions to serve God. And when I was thwarted afresh in my worldly prospects, I did not give these up.

The year 1838 was a struggle after fixed pursuits and a settled mind. Though then an Anglican deacon, I was entirely unformed in religious views, and so little had I any conscious bent to those which I afterwards took up, that I had some thoughts of trying to be curate to Mr. Close. I was determined to London by the offer of pupils there, and to the frequenting of Mr. Dodsworth's church by some casual words of my old Eton tutor, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, speaking of him as being near where I was lodging. Now what I heard at this church was destined to lead me on in what were called *Church Principles*; gradually I went there exclusively: one after another I took in the higher views of Anglicanism as to the Church, the Episcopate, the Sacraments. From the first I determined never to leave the church when there was a communion, and this there was every Sunday at Dodsworth's. I always had a great reverence for that sacrament, and remember the thrill with which I first assisted as a deacon in that church.

The whole taste for theology, which I then had, was new to me. It came *after* that terrific shock of

1837. At Oxford and in my wander-years it was the one subject for which, among moral and intellectual subjects, I not only had no taste, but the most marked repugnance. In 1838 all the time I could spare from pupils was given to this before-hated subject. And my mind was ever longing for a connected and consecutive system *in rebus divinis*. I sought it hither and thither, in a desultory manner, and in heterogeneous authors, without knowing what I was in search of. I think it was in consequence of a remark from E. Coleridge¹ that I got a volume of Newman's sermons, which afterwards had a very marked part in my spiritual growth, and increased the sense of a want which they did not supply.

In nothing was I more unfortunate than in that I had no living guide to direct me in studies, or mental or spiritual growth. I was completely isolated. Indeed, at this time I had no private friends. Those of Oxford my travel had broken off. Some were in London, but I never fell in with them. I think — was the only one whom I saw, and he

¹ As recorded in 'Journal'—'Dec. 20, 1838: Dined with Ward; shocked at what he told me of the Newmanites. He is become one himself from being greatly opposed. Read some of Newman's lectures on Church doctrines: thought them Jesuitical now and then.' 'Dec. 24.—Saw Coleridge; talked a good deal, chiefly about Oxford School. C. says every reasonable man agrees with them. Curious the great force of opinion on one liked. I have since been reading Newman's lectures again, and they seem to me just the truth. Is this an accession of light, or is it mere weakness of judgment? How wonderfully one's own state of mind influences one's intellectual judgment!'

was connected with me by another interest. I had no one to walk with. I had no society save what I met at Baron Alderson's, and less often at Judge Coleridge's, with an occasional trip to Eton. I consider this isolation to have been a real misfortune and a very great trial to me, until I married.

It *seemed* then a matter of mere chance into what school of theological opinion I should fall. Certainly when I returned from abroad my political radicalism, encouraged by the state of Italy, indisposed me strongly to Puseyism. I believe, however, there existed all along, in my mind, a certain substratum, gathered at Eton and Oxford, which had strong secret affinities with this latter congeries of doctrines: certainly I had always conceived of the Church as one visible society, and of the sacraments as channels of grace, and these two things involve all the rest. At any rate, I seem during 1838 and 1839 to have been unlearning my foreign radicalism, and to have been appropriating, one by one, by acts of private judgment, the views of Puseyism—and undoubtedly Newman's mind was the instrument through which I did this, so that the idea which I gradually formed of the Anglican Church was neither more nor less than *Newmanism*: something which, as a whole, and with that relative proportion of parts, that *mixture*, really had no existence before him; which, however, in the spring of 1840 I should have stoutly maintained to be the true, historic, and only Church of England.

I am certainly not wrong in laying down the commencement of a new moral being from 1837; the distinctive mark of which was that God, not self, became the motive of action. From that time forth I was 'feeling after Him, if haply I might find Him.' The bubble of *the world* had broken to me. An early, and till then cherished, desire seemed scattered away for ever before that tempest, and became a *vanitas vanitatum*. It has never resumed any power over me, though I have still a keen appreciation of certain sorts of poetry—for instance, that of Dante, whom I place entirely by himself as master of the *superhuman* school, and that of Shakspeare as equally supreme in the *human* and *natural*. But more than this. The effect of that terrible blow was such that even the desire for intellectual distinction did not reappear with any force for several years. I recovered from it at length upon my marriage in 1840.

My appointment on May 1, 1840, to be chaplain to Bishop Blomfield effected no alteration in my views. From the beginning I felt myself stronger and more advanced in Church views than he was. There was besides in him a truckling to expediency, and an attempting to sit between two stools, which freed me from all danger of being *Lambethised*. Perhaps I erred in the other direction. Instead of keeping my counsel and holding my tongue when Dr. B— produced at his own table, or elsewhere, some

sentiment extremely uncatholic—or, perhaps I should say, unchurchman-like—I not seldom ventured to oppose it. I believe one great admirer of the Bishop, Mr. W. Cotton, called me for this a little bantam-cock. All this time I could not pursue any fixed study, as I attended on him every morning, and when I returned in the afternoon was too tired for much reading in the evening. But the whole bent of my mind was to theology. During the whole period of my chaplaincy with him I was trying to enlarge, deepen, and systematise my views.

Of Catholic theology I was then utterly ignorant. I remember, as a curious fact, Mr. Bennett, whom on Sundays I assisted, lending me a missal, which was my first acquaintance with that volume. At least, whatever else I knew on that subject must have been derived from the mention of Rome and Roman doctrines in the ‘Tracts for the Times’ and Newman’s works. Yet I preached two sermons then on the Unity of the Church which are quite Catholic in doctrine, and which entirely contemplate the Church as one visible perennial society, and dwelt on the sacrament of unity as all-important; at the same time that, curiously enough, it did not strike my mind that such principles alone carried with them an utter condemnation of the Anglican position. Looking back, it seems hard to discern how it was *possible, bonâ fide*, to believe and to speak in such a manner and not to see the necessity of

becoming a Catholic. Now my belief in such a doctrine of unity, as again in the doctrine of the Real Presence, of baptismal regeneration, and the apostolical succession (however wrongly conceived), was stronger even at that time than my belief in the Anglican Church. And this singular contradiction went on. Doctrine after doctrine I reached by the process of my own mind, feeding like a bird on the pastures which it most fancied, but without any design; and each succeeding doctrine I held with stronger faith than I held the communion itself in which I was doing this; so that the *ground* of my belief was diametrically opposed to that of the Catholic: that is, it was private judgment, whether biassed by supposed historical inquiry, or formed by logical synthesis, or drawn by moral coherence, and developed by inward affinities; but it was not trust in a teaching body which alone, by a divine commission, has the truth intrusted to it, and alone is guaranteed in the perpetual possession and transmission of it. Yet if I had been asked in 1842, before I left the Bishop, why I believed a certain doctrine, I should doubtless have answered, because the Catholic Church believed it, *i.e.* something which I had loosely fancied in my mind as the Catholic Church, just as I, the individual, imagined it, without any precise locality or time: though here, again, if asked, I should probably have said then and certainly later, the Church of the fourth and

fifth centuries, as if it were in my power, or the power of any individual, to know what that Church believed, by historical inquiry, which was my supposed informant.

It was in the year 1841 that I began, much to my wife's discomposure, the unpopular practice of fasting; my first notion being, I believe, that one should eat as little as possible, and as plainly as possible, on Friday. I remember consulting Dods-worth upon it, who replied that he certainly thought it a duty. Neither I asked, nor did he give, if I mistake not, any practical directions about it.

All through this period of my chaplaincy my sympathies were entirely with the Puseyites. I was seriously pained and harassed because the Anglican bishops showed them the cold shoulder. I was disgusted with old Howley—especially with his ‘moderation’ and ‘venerableness.’ In these words I was thinking, without applying it, of Ward’s remark—‘If a man be called “moderate” or “venerable,” beware of him; but if both—you may be sure he is a scoundrel.’ I was disgusted with Bishop Blomfield, and he, I believe, with me, because I would never disavow or censure Tract 90. I thought myself, no doubt, a thorough Puseyite, at that time. I attended a visitation at Oxford in June 1842, and was delighted at the dinner to sit next to Mr. Newman. It was undoubtedly for my Church principles, and the dread to what they might lead, that the Bishop

discarded me, and sent me to Launton,¹ where he thought I could do little harm. Yet it is quite true, as I wrote in February 1849, that then 'I had not the least uneasiness as to the whole position of the Church of England. I was strongly anti-Roman, and so came to Launton.'

Now here is one of the turns of Divine Providence. Being sent to Launton was a *disgrace* which I had incurred for following *bonâ fide* my principles, and not being *Lambethised*. It seemed to destroy my prospects, remove me out of the way of distinction, from friends and connections, and the power of influencing others, especially the young. For many years I keenly felt it as all this. My heart sank within me at the prospect of going there; sank within me during all the interval between accepting the living and going to reside on it; sank within me on the evening of arriving there; and my wife shared in these feelings. We felt ourselves tossed into a desert. The people were singularly rude, and not, alas, singularly, but exceedingly immoral and irreligious. I was burning to have a large and influential congregation, such as Dodsworth's—which

¹ The naming me to the living of Launton, Jan. 21, 1842, was two days after a warm discussion, in which the Bishop had censured some of the Oxford party for complaining of the King of Prussia being godfather to the Prince of Wales, and I had defended them. The Bishop got very heated. His brother, my predecessor, happened to be present. When I think of this appointment and all its circumstances, I am reminded of Lord Rochester's remark to a cur biting his heels in the Park: 'I'll get you a living in the country.'

I think had always been before my eyes as a sort of model. I longed to carry out my Puseyism on a large field. Without, I think, any bent to the *pastoral* office, I had considerable love of preaching, and very great feeling and love of theology as an organic structure of divine doctrines. I was yearning after the Catholic system in its fullness, without the least suspicion where it was to be found. As to all this, Launton was the most thorough *dampener* which I could have received. Dr. Blomfield intended it for such. It was his mode of punishing me for having entrapped him into the discredit of having a Puseyite *prononcé* for his examining chaplain. I felt to the full the contrast between my late and my new position. The former had been singularly agreeable to me; the latter was as singularly distasteful. I did not want *general* pastoral work, at all, then; but least of all did I want such work as that. I felt myself very unformed; and I liked my small portion of *government* at the centre of a great system, better than my relegation to *serve* at one of its extremities; not to say that this extremity was devoid of any vital heat, and obstinately refused my efforts at calefaction. I knew it would, all along, and it never disappointed me. All this was seen at a glance, when I visited Launton, on my 29th birthday, February 12, 1842, and was inducted. Then I was keenly interested in the success of the Puseyite cause; and I thought my removal from a very re-

sponsible place of influence at Dr. Blomfield's side a considerable blow to it; an opportunity lost; an omen of success gone. Look at it as I would, it was utterly discouraging, and I was not the least reconciled by the thought that it made me a country gentleman, and gave me an independence. In short, what God was doing I knew not then, but I know now.

CHAPTER II.

EXPERIENCE AT HOME AND OBSERVATION ABROAD.

I WAS appointed chaplain to the Bishop of London, May 1, 1840, had the living of Launton given me January 21, 1842, and left him, June 1842, having taken a chief part in five general ordinations, and one or two private ones. I was high in his favour, till the publication of Tract 90, March 1841; but from that time forth under suspicion. We stayed a fortnight at Eton, with E. Coleridge, and settled at Launton the beginning of July 1842. At that time I was simply an Anglican, though already holding with the utmost earnestness certain principles, which, fairly and honestly carried out, could not fail to carry me to Catholicism. But of this application of them I can say, with perfect assurance, that I was utterly unconscious. I had an unfaltering trust in the position itself of the Anglican Church, though I felt that a fierce, intestine struggle was waging in her bosom for the maintenance of that position. Had I conceived it *possible* that I should ever be driven to leave the Anglican Church, I should have acted in a far more prudent manner as to money

affairs. But even in the Spring of 1844, when I ordered my church to be entirely pewed with open oak seats, I had not conceived the possibility of this. It came before the seats were laid. On looking back, it is one of the hardest things to realise how one could hold *so much* and *no more*. But the force of habit, prejudice, and calumny is tremendous; and I always seemed parted from the Catholic Church by an insuperable gulf, so that the thought even of crossing it never occurred. This, I believe, is the main defence of Protestantism to the vast majority of those who profess it.

One of the first results of my change of position and occupation was the purchasing, at a single stroke, a hundred pounds' worth of the Fathers: S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Athanasius, and some others. Up to this time, I had never fallen in their way, and knew nothing of them save a quotation here and there. This was done before I left London; and this itself, of course, was an effect of Newman's teaching. Even when I was ordained deacon I knew as little of the Fathers as 'the man in the moon,' and answered a question of Archdeacon Clerke that S. Justin was a Latin Father. It was Newman's continually setting the Fathers forth as the witnesses and sure guarantees of orthodoxy, which wrought this change. Here, again, was the oak contained in the acorn.

Of course, as soon as I settled at Launton, my

life became more studious than it had been. We were quite shut out from society. My mornings were my own. I began to compose parochial sermons, and in doing so used constantly to see what S. Augustine said on the subject first.

Perhaps, as to reading the Fathers, I was a good deal influenced by a very interesting letter of Dr. Newman, in September 1842, written in answer to an inquiry how to study the Fathers, which I here insert.

ORIEL COLLEGE: September 30, 1842.

MY DEAR MR. ALLIES:—I had an opportunity, yesterday, of thanking you for the very kind expressions which you used about me in your letter, and I will now proceed to the question it contained. When I began to read the Fathers, many years ago, I began at the Apostolical, and took a great deal of pains with them and Justin Martyr, all which I count now almost wasted; and that for this reason, that I did not understand *what* was in them—what I was to look for—what were the strong or important points, &c. I questioned and systematised them by the Protestant doctrines and views, and by this sort of cross-division I managed to spend a good deal of time on them, and got nothing from them. The result was something like that described in the case of the unobservant boy in the story of ‘Eyes and No Eyes.’

This has ever since made me averse to persons

reading the Fathers without first getting some acquaintance with divinity; or, at least, letting the study of the two proceed together; or, again, some acquaintance with ecclesiastical history. If a person's taste goes that way, Bull's '*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*' is an admirable introduction to the Fathers; so, I think, is Hooker's '*Fifth Book*,' or '*Wall on Infant Baptism*.' It comes pretty much to the same thing to advise a person to get up a particular controversy in the Fathers, for that involves, more or less, his going to theological works for information. E.g. the '*Donatist*' controversy will bring him across a great deal of history; and some very interesting Treatises of S. Augustine, as well as Optatus. If I must name one work, however, and that of an early Father, it must be '*Origen contra Celsum*,' and then he might go on to Huet. Or, again, '*S. Cyprian's Epistles*'—getting up the dates, &c. It is best to get a footing in some one place, and then to proceed as one's particular taste or curiosity leads. Bishop Lloyd used to recommend beginning at the beginning. I have found this in my own case a failure. Burton pursued it, too, and I cannot think his instance sufficient to alter my opinion. He is said to have read regularly on through four centuries—so I understood Lloyd—but has learned little from the Fathers, except that they were not Socinians. Bishop Kaye, to judge from his publications, has proceeded in the same orderly way; accordingly,

since a man must have some system, he has naturally taken his own with him, and transforms Tertullian into the 'Thirty-nine Articles' one after another. I think T. would be surprised to see himself in the Bishop's pages.

Judging from myself, I should say I got little from the Apostolical Fathers, Justin, Tatian, &c., or Eusebius's Church History; but a great deal from Athanasius; nothing from 'Pearson on the Creed,' a great deal from Bull's 'Def. F. N.' A great deal from Pearson's 'Vindiciæ'; and this view of the subject, followed out, contains all I have to say on the subject of reading the Fathers.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

P.S. I do not know 'S. Augustine's Letters,' to speak on my own authority, but, from what I am told, and what I do know, I should consider they would be most profitable reading.

I should *expect* that a person would get a great deal of instruction from reading the 'Treatises of Tertullian,' which are now just publishing in the 'Library of the Fathers,' with the Translation and Notes.

I have never done any more with the Fathers than *dip* into them; reading S. Augustine, S. Cyril, S. Chrysostom in *morceaux*; but, in the course of a few years—in which I enlarged my list of them till it was nearly complete—I learnt even in this way to

look up to an objective ground of faith, and became aware that whatever early Christianity and the Church system of the fourth and fifth centuries were, they were at least most unlike Protestantism. I turned away, more and more, from everything that had been written *since* the Reformation, to these, as I considered, unbiassed witnesses between Rome and England. As I saw their mighty folios ranged round my room, I felt that I was not alone, that I had a ground for what I believed, that I stood on a higher footing than the system in which I lived, and was acquainted with those who enabled me to *judge* that system. Thus my mind acquired a strength and resolution which it had not possessed before I came to Launton. I was struggling with the Reformation theology, often losing my way among its miserable *débris*, but at length overmastering it and casting it away as a *caput mortuum*. All this was a direct consequence of my coming to Launton, and it marks the course of my *internal* growth from June 1842 to June 1844. And to this must be added the necessary withdrawal from external objects of interest, the cutting off the influx of all Protestant society and tones of thought, and the concentration of thought produced by such a place as Launton. It was collecting all one's humours in a cistern without outlet.

But this course was singularly aided by *external* circumstances. Of course, as a beneficed clergyman,

I had practical work to do, a weekly office of teaching and worship, sick and dying calls. The whole practical working of the Anglican system was thus brought before me. And I found daily and weekly that it *would not go*. *Cela ne marchait pas*. Theoretical difficulties had a new edge given to them by practical daily disappointments. My people obstinately refused to discern the difference between the Church and the meeting-house, unless, indeed, by the unacceptable way of preferring the latter. I preached to them over and over again what schism and heresy were, and they never would understand that there was any sin in them, or cease from the unlimited practice of them. I strove to make them frequent the sacrament, in vain. Low, disunited, immoral, conceited, brutally ignorant and brutally obstinate, they were and they would be. Reverence for my office they had none; consideration for me as a gentleman, and landlord, and occupant of a large glebe, they had. I tried to make myself their friend in every conceivable manner, and with profuse expenditure; but with little success. And then, whenever I tried to rest on the Church's regulations and means of grace, they seemed to produce no effect. The experience of death-beds was appalling, to me, but not to the patient. From a life of wickedness, unbelief, and ignoring or blaspheming of God, they seemed to drop into eternity with utter indifference, and a passive profession of God's

unbounded mercy. They seemed not to have the need of my warnings or consolations, and valued neither. I looked around, and saw parishes all about me more or less in the same condition. Thus my *reading* and my *life*, theory and practice, thought and works, seemed to fit into each other, and together produce dissatisfaction with the Anglican Church. And this makes up the first year of my incumbency, when weakness of health compelled both myself and my wife to seek a change of scene, and we went for a time to Ramsgate. Curiously enough, even this led to something which had a great influence on the course of my thoughts.

We went to Ramsgate and stayed some weeks, but found it very dull. No doubt, the solitude of Launton had made me long for scenes of motion, and for something to excite curiosity and interest, and so, just before leaving Ramsgate, it came into my mind to make a short excursion in France to visit French cathedrals; for in church architecture at that time I took a very warm interest, and one forlorn endeavour at Launton was to find some objects worth studying in visiting the churches round us. My wife, who was very far from sharing this antiquarian zeal, and perhaps, moreover, instinctively drew back from it, as tending towards Rome, had often, in the first year of our life at Launton, to complain of being kept waiting while I was examining a rood-screen at Charlton on Otmoor,

whereon a cross of flowers was still placed at May-day, in lieu of the removed and desecrated rood, and left to wither through the year; or sedilia, made for the priest, the deacon, and subdeacon, at the holy mysteries, but left as unmeaning gaps in the Protestant church's fabric. For both these I had then a great fancy. Altars were not to be found, or they would have enraptured me. One, I believe, was stealthily removed out of a church at Enstone by Mr. Jordan, in whose sight it was anti-Christian; another I afterwards saw in the vestry at Chipping Norton. It was a great mortification to me that my sedilia at Launton were only two, and those of debased style.

Accompanied by my wife's sister and Mr. Richardson, we crossed the water from Shoreham on August 8 to Havre,¹ and recrossed from Havre to Shoreham on August 23, visiting in the interval Rouen, Amiens, Beauvais, Mantes, Chartres, and Evreux. Never did I spend fifteen days more influential on the course of my thoughts and religious views. Nearly seven years had passed since I returned from the Continent. From irreligious I had become serious; from idle and purposeless, a minister with a strong feeling of responsibility, and the most anxious desire to do good. I have a sketch of my journey, in six sheets, made at the end of that month,

¹ Not having taken passports, we went to the Consul at Havre for them. He asked for my description, and put me down as 'ministre protestant,' to my intense disgust. The object of my ambition was to be 'prêtre Catholique.'

and the observations in it on the state of religion prove incontestably that then for the first time my mind was grappling with the great fact of Catholicism. It is the most curious mixture of ignorance and candour. I saw 'men like trees walking.' For the first time it seems to have been brought home to me that our Blessed Lady had a share in the Incarnation! For the first time I made an effort to arrive at the rationale of the regard which Catholics pay to her and to the Saints. I had been singularly prepared for this visit by an apparently chance visit of but one day, which Mr. W. G. Ward had made to me at the beginning of that year (1843), that is, in February. He told me one thing which made the greatest impression on me, and went far to overthrow all my anti-Catholic prejudices. This one thing was that Roman Catholic priests celebrated daily. From that time forth I began to use the Anglican communion service by myself in the chancel of my church, and I continued this practice until I had made up my mind to become a Catholic. Here were people, upon whom I had been looking down as degenerate and corrupt, who were doing generally what I was just aspiring to as the height of perfection. It quite took away my breath. It let me into a new world. And so I was prepared to pay great attention to the Mass and all that belonged to it.

I insert, verbatim and complete, the short account of this visit to France drawn up by me on my return home.

LAUNTON : Aug. 28, 1843.

We left London, Monday, August 7, passing over on Tuesday night from Shoreham Harbour to Havre, and returned from Havre to Shoreham on Wednesday night, August 23, having visited in the interval Rouen, Amiens, Beauvais, Mantes, Chartres, and Evreux.

Our object was to see cathedrals and churches. Of these I place Amiens first for design and magnificent proportions. The pillars of the nave and choir are somewhat clumsy, being cylinders with four columns, one at each corner, but the triforium, gallery, and windows, the relative height, length, and breadth, are admirable. The whole effect of the building is, beyond doubt, finer than that of any I have seen—except, perhaps, Milan.

Superior in perfection of architecture, in which indeed it seems to show to what degree beauty, symmetry, strength, and lightness could be combined, is the marvellous Abbey Church of St. Ouen, Rouen. It is instructive to contrast the slender shafts, grouped round its pillars and running in uninterrupted line from the floor to the ceiling, with the yet imperfect and severer style of the cylindrical pillars at Amiens. In the latter strength betrays itself; in the former it is disguised under the mask of beauty. The central pillars of the croisée at St. Ouen's are 30ft. in circumference, each side presenting seven shafts; the other pillars have four. St. Ouen is 34ft. 6in. in breadth from wall to wall.

Inferior in beauty to St. Ouen, and in grandeur to Amiens, but yet with an *ἦθος* of its own, is the Cathedral of Rouen. We could not observe the effect of the lantern (which both the others want), as it was boarded up for repairs. Next in beauty, and perhaps in some respects surpassing the last, is the Church of Notre Dame, at Mantes. I have never seen so beautiful a specimen of Early English. Lofty and slender detached pillars (of about 12ft. by 10in.) separate the nave from a triforium as deep as the aisles below, terminated by decorated or wheel windows, which would supply an unobjectionable model for a commodious gallery; indeed, I imagine it must have been intended for nuns. The effect of these detached pillars, two between each arch, and two more close to the arch, four in all, of which I counted near a hundred, and of the two western towers, open inside to the height of the roof (if I remember rightly) is very striking, indeed, unique. Every bay of the circular apse, and also, I believe, every bay of the triforium, as well as the west end, had a rose window. Some of the bays of the triforium have now decorated windows, but a great many roses remain though their tracery was demolished at the Great Revolution. The west front, up to the gallery, which runs between the two towers, is of singular beauty and simplicity. The south tower has clusters of pillars jutting out from it in a way I do not remember to have ever seen before; over these

pillars towards the tower, there is a sort of steep slanting roof, which injures the effect of the last story. The top of the north tower is less ancient. We met with some intelligent workmen here who spoke enthusiastically of the glory of this church before the Revolution. I should like to have spent another day in contemplating it—built by St. Louis.

Inferior to all these in the style of its architecture, but surpassing them all in the wondrous and magical beauty of its painted glass, is the Cathedral of Chartres. Contrasted with Amiens and still more with St. Ouen, there was something rude and clumsy in its pillars, not springing from floor to roof, but broken into three or four parts. Its heavy triforium would bear no comparison with those above-mentioned. But in the brightest day of summer at noon Chartres is still filled with 'dim religious light.' I at once acknowledged that I had never witnessed or imagined the beauty of painted glass before. I know not whether most to admire the western rose and three lancets, or the bright colours of the five eastern lancets, or the north and south roses.

In the north are seen Melchisedec, David, Virgin and Child, Solomon, Aaron; with, underneath, Nebuchadnezzar, Saul, Jeroboam, Pharaoh.

In the south, St. Luke, St. Matthew, St. John, St. Mark, on the shoulders of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, with the Virgin and Child in the centre.

Words can convey no notion of the colours of the

windows at Chartres. The whole choir is surrounded with a stone screen containing a delineation of our Saviour's life (beginning with the birth of John Baptist and ending with the crowning of the Virgin by God the Father and God the Son, which I shudder almost to put down). There are a vast number of figures about three parts the size of life in appearance, or perhaps full size, and though I had short time to observe them, I thought some designs of our Lord before Pilate, for instance, full of dignity. On the north side was an image of the Virgin, very dark, in silver robes, surrounded with offerings of flowers, which seemed to attract more worshippers than anything else. I observed the pillar supporting it kissed by respectable women.

So much for interiors. Of exteriors I observed none perfect. The Cathedral of Rouen is nearest, but its west front is not yet completed, and the northern tower, though curious, is defective in beauty. Several, however, have parts which by themselves approach near to perfection. Of these I should name the *Portail des Libraires*, and *Portail de la Calende*, Cathedral, Rouen; the north-east and north-west, south-east and south-west towers of the transepts, with their portal, and its rich pediment and rose window, are of exquisite beauty. I especially admired those beautiful Early English open windows in the towers, with a single pillar in the centre; also the *Portail des Marmouzets* of St. Ouen, in proportions

the grandest of all. It was under repair, and we could not get a sight of all its excellences. Nothing can exceed the *σεμνότης* of the western front of Amiens, its three enormously recessed portals, populated with statues, not but that the height (200ft.) is disproportionate to the breadth (112ft.), and the unlikeness of the towers above is a defect. It would not be possible to make this front complete, for it seems, as Murray's book suggests, to have been designed for a smaller church. Next to these, more simple, but scarcely less beautiful, is the west front of Mantes, and as rich are the north and south lateral entrances of Chartres. The west front of this cathedral is plain and rude below. The enormous height of the spires is lessened to the eye by the vast altitude of the roof. Nothing, however, can be more beautiful or bold than the new part of the north-west spire. Of towers the finest is the lantern central tower of St. Ouen, surmounted with the ducal coronet of Normandy, some 60ft. high. I think it would be a great additional beauty at Amiens if it possessed such a tower proportionately high, with an internal lantern; all, indeed, which that church wants to make it internally perfect, save the restoration of its stained windows. The miserable central turret-spire is a blot at present.

As to rose windows, where shall I begin and where end? Rouen Cathedral has three; St. Ouen three more; Amiens three more; Chartres three more;

each of which, like W. Scott's novels, seems the best, as you regard it. Undoubtedly those at Chartres have an effect peculiar to themselves. The north and south present each forty-nine distinct lights, like brilliant stars on a dark sky, and the west thirty-seven. Next to these the north rose of Amiens is the finest internally, but in tracery, perhaps, those of St. Ouen surpass it and all of them.

No doubt, the west front of St. Ouen, if completed with a semicircular triple or quintuple portal, like that of St. Maclou's, would have borne comparison with any. The Government has put aside 800,000 francs as a fund for the completion of these.

St. Maclou ought not to be omitted—a very gem of a parish church. Its west and north fronts are only inferior in *dimension* to the beautiful St. Ouen; in richness they rank with it! What a pity that all these noble buildings should be placed more or less in absolute contact with vile hovels; and no one possess an ample square around it! It is impossible to get any view of Chartres, Amiens, Rouen Cathedral, and only a partial one of St. Ouen can be obtained.

To pass from the piety and magnificence of past times to the present state of religion—so far as a passenger can judge from appearances—the great difference which strikes at once is, that abroad the church, however lamentably it has been assailed by revolutionary impiety or decorated in false or meretricious taste, is still recognised by all who have any

sense of religion as the *house of prayer*, intended primarily for *worship*, not for *instruction*, still less for the *display* of the priest's oratory. I do not know whether this does not make up for all other disadvantages of the Roman worship. At least it shows us how far we are fallen—how thoroughly the popular mind in England has been puritanised. What would be thought here of a person kneeling down to pray when he entered the church? Would he be set down as a hypocrite or as an enthusiast? There, it is what everyone does who prays at all. Of what inestimable value would the restoration of this feeling in England be! This, however, is the most favourable point I discerned.

To the service of the Mass, both private and public, I paid especial attention—undoubtedly it is very solemn and beautiful; and therefore is it doubly painful to see it *witnessed, not partaken of*—made a fine spectacle to the many, while only to the priest and one or two of his congregation is it the Christian's highest privilege (on the great festival on the Assumption, at Amiens Cathedral, I saw a few women only communicate).¹ But what a strange corruption that where there are many priests, each should celebrate daily, by himself, not all together offering that beautiful image of the body of the faithful fed by their Lord! What a strange corruption again, that

¹ So little was the writer then aware that communions take place usually at early morning Masses.

the priest celebrating should *himself* receive the Body and Blood, not communicating thereof even to those priests who assist him, and if any lay persons communicate, giving to them a reserved host ! Still, with both these corruptions, that the practice of daily communion should have been maintained among the priests, and that the poorest parishioner of the poorest parish should have the opportunity of communicating *daily*, is a wonderful privilege and contrasts strangely with our quarterly or monthly celebrations. The service of the Mass is still the central service of the Church—the ineffable privilege therein contained is not slighted and put into the background—and undoubtedly the discipline imposed by the Roman Church on her clergy is far stricter than that with which our own Church contents herself. How far the prominence given to the service of the Mass keeps in check the otherwise prevailing Mariolatry, may be a question. I do not think the Romanist is in danger of confounding the reverence due to the Mother of God with the worship due to her Son—it rather seems as if, in his mind, *she* were the connecting link between us and Him—so that the Virgin is inextricably mixed up in his feelings with the Incarnation ; whereas, if I mistake not, the Protestant tone of thought seldom rests upon the Virgin at all, or considers the part she had in the mystery of the Incarnation. It is beyond a question that the Romanists (people and priest) attribute to

the Saints and Angels, and above all to the Blessed Virgin, offices which we are wont to restrict to the Redeemer; but it is not at all clear to me that the immeasurable distance between that Redeemer and the Saints is thereby lessened *to their minds*. To *them* His intercession differs *in kind* from that of the Saints. There must be some far deeper principle in the universal reverence paid to the Virgin than we are accustomed to allow; at the same time it certainly seems to me the *black spot* of the Roman Church. While I am upon this I will give the inscription I copied from Chartres Cathedral, where a screen has been erected in the nave commemorating in large characters, with a sculptured representation overhead, the interference of the Blessed Virgin to arrest the progress of the flames in 1836.

Demonem in hanc ædem sacram flammam ejaculantem,
Jamque per turres et tabulata horrificè debacchatum,

Maria injecto fræno coercet. Angelus, urbis custos, ut sibi liceat
Illam contra ignes tutari a Virgine rogat, annuitque Deipara.

‘Misericordia Domini quod non sumus consumpti.’ Thren.

Predictum incendium accidit die iv. Junii, 1836.

This, I imagine, is a fair specimen of the place which the Blessed Virgin holds in popular Roman theology; and yet I should be loth to say that they who composed, and they who tolerate or rather approve of, such an inscription, have not as deep and ever-abiding conviction that salvation is only through Christ as we can have.

As far as I could judge, the Church is winning

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ground in France—both at Rouen and Amiens a great number of people seemed to frequent the services. These are, however, almost exclusively the *lowest classes*, and women; it is rare to see a man—very rare indeed a *gentleman*—attending service. The *boutiquiers* seem thoroughly heathenised—at Rouen and Chartres Sunday was wholly disregarded. At Rouen daily prayers were at half-past six in the morning and half-past seven in the evening. I attended the latter and was not much edified. Our morning and evening prayers, in spite of a certain rigidity and monotony, which might be remedied out of the same sources from which they were composed, are a blessing which they do not *seem* to possess, but I speak from imperfect knowledge. But what an inestimable privilege in crowded towns to have a noble church full of places of quiet, where the worshipper, wearied with the thralldom of the world, may in a moment, without attracting attention, retire into himself and address God in the spot where thousands, now gathered to their rest, have in their day of probation approached him. Without churches open all day, and the habit of praying in them, I do not see how it is possible for the great mass of Christians to realise the Communion of Saints; and that the good and serious do realise it abroad to an extent we have no conception of here, I feel convinced. What would I give to be able to keep the doors of my church open from morning to night,

and to see my parishioners come there not only to join in public, but to offer private, devotions, and to confess to their priest, as I witnessed on Monday, August 14, at the village of Poix! Such a thing in England seems beyond the reach of the wildest imagination. ‘Ubi lapsi—quid fecimus?’ Within fifty years after the greatest destruction which has ever fallen on a church, the sanctity of God’s house is recognised universally in France; while, three centuries after our Reformation, our places of worship are closed, even in the most favoured parishes, except for the half-hour of public service. A superstitious reverence for images of saints may be corrected; but what can remedy the want of ἀρχή betrayed in our own habits? If a word more were required to be said on the detestable system of pews, it would be sufficient to refer to the testimony still borne by foreign churches to a better arrangement. The *plebs fidelium* there possess the nave and transepts of each church in undivided tenure. With all faults of decoration the House of God looks inhabited, cherished, revered, while our cathedrals, cold and bare, in whose nave and transepts no worshipper is ever known to bend the knee, seem the sepulchres of a defunct religion.

The appearance of French priests is not prepossessing; they look gross and underbred. The only gentleman I saw—and he would have stood without disadvantage beside the Archbishop of

Armagh (Lord John George Beresford) or the Bishop of Oxford (Bagot)—was the Bishop of Amiens. As he walked in procession with mitre and crosier and cope through his cathedral and city, I mourned over our poor *dimidiata ecclesia*, and the robe of the Christian priesthood, which her priests dare not assume, and the symbol of pastoral rule which her bishops bear only on their carriages. The copes are worn of four colours—purple, blue (violet), green, and white silk, embroidered with gold. Even in the present impoverished state of the French Church they are very magnificent. The sacristan at Chartres showed me six, which cost 10,000 francs (66*l.*) apiece; and one, older than the Revolution, which cost 400*l.* alone. They must last for generations. Never was there a greater mistake than to consider the question of clerical vestments a question of superficial importance. Alas for the day of coldness and neglect, when the English priest changed his cassock for the layman's coat; when the cope was relinquished, the keys were no longer borne! and both, I believe, will be restored, or remain in abeyance together.

The spectacle of 40,000 curés, working in poverty and self-denial, and wholly devoted, day after day, to their sacred functions, cannot but make a great impression upon infidel France. Surely this is the salt, which preserves her from thorough corruption, and by their daily intercessions, united with

those of the Saints who built her churches, or whose relics lie deep beneath their foundations, the spirit of lawlessness is kept in check. Everywhere we went we observed large repairs making to the great churches, at the expense of Government conjointly with the several cities. Since the conflagration of 1836, upwards of 70,000*l.* has been spent on Chartres alone, including among other reparations an entirely new roof of iron ribs over the whole church. This rises some 50 feet above the stone vaulting which itself is 112 feet high inside; so that it is at least 165 feet from the ground to the ridge of the roof of Chartres. It is 140 feet inside, and 200 feet outside to the ridge of Amiens. The internal and external galleries of Amiens must be traversed before the spectator can estimate the enormous pile of masonry which that fabric contains. It can only be matched, I think, by Milan.

Amiens is only 442 English feet in length, including the Lady Chapel. In this, also, the French architects have shown great wisdom, for an excess in this respect would have diminished the great effect produced by their stupendous height. York or Canterbury would be dwarfed beside Amiens, though the former exceeds it by 82 feet, and the latter by 88 feet in length; but the height of the vaulting of Canterbury is 80 feet; of York, 99 feet; of Amiens, 140 feet.

It is a sad result of a visit to the French cathe-

drals, that the Englishman must be content to recognise ever after the immense inferiority of his own in the characteristic feature of Christian architecture. A noble race of men they must have been, and not of the 'tiger-monkey' kind, who had hearts to conceive and hands to execute such works as these. Overflowing with inward life must the Church have been which could impress such a character on her sons. Here, indeed, may the Churchman feel: 'He built his sanctuary like high palaces, like the earth which He hath established for ever.' Those were the ages of faith, hope, and love. We may console ourselves with our barren orthodoxy, and point the finger of scorn upon the image of Virgin or Saint, but it would be well if the life which glowed in those bosoms manifested itself in such works in ours. With regard to our own Church, I felt, on seeing these buildings and their actual state, how admirably the poet has marked what is wanting:—

Again I hear thy plaintive tale
In the autumnal gale;
But since thou passedst through the fires
With our old martyr sires,
Thou seem'st as one escaped the flame,
But looking back for something left behind;
The unshackled high resolve, the holier aim,
Single-eyed faith in loyalty resign'd,
And heart-deep prayers of earlier years.
And since that popular billow o'er thee past,
Which thine own Ken from out the vineyard cast,
Now e'en far more
Than then of yore,
An altered mien thy holy aspect wears.

And now e'er winter's net
Is o'er thy pathway set,
Haste and arise; to Judah's mountains flee,
And drink the untainted fount of pure Antiquity.

Among minor things which yet we have suffered loss and harm in giving up, may be reckoned the custom of crossing with holy water on entering a church, and of bowing on passing the altar (the latter, indeed, has been lately approved of by a bishop). It is sad to contrast the manner in which English, abroad and at home, enter the house of God, with the reverence shown by the *right-minded* in Catholic communities. A still more to be regretted omission is that of the crucifix; which ought to appear prominently at least in one part of the church—over the rood-screen, or over the altar. How often in France, passing some retired village, or at some turn in the road, have I admired a crucifix, large as life, sanctifying the village green, or making a shrine of some leafy recess. What! are those who deem it almost the whole of religion to put forward continually the Sacrifice of the Cross, consistent in putting carefully out of their sight the visible representation of that Sacrifice? Is every memorial of our redemption to be scrupulously swept away from the face of the country, and even from the interior of our churches? Out upon that detestable Puritanism, devoid alike of heart and imagination, which has so successfully laboured to take away from England, once pre-eminently the isle of faith

and love, every character of a Christian country ! I am with shame obliged to feel and confess that a pious Roman Catholic coming to England, so far from being touched by the purity of our faith or the warmth of our love, would probably be shocked at every step by a subtle irreverence which has infected our whole tone of thought and mode of action in holy things. It is become the atmosphere in which we breathe—by which even the instinct of the true Christian mind is so deadened that it cannot be aware, without going out of it, how much we have lost.

If the incipient revival of faith in infidel France suggests so much, what would a glimpse of the Martyr Church of the First Ages, if such were possible, reveal to us of our naked and bare condition ?

How have we, after escaping the fearful taint of idolatry, descended from our vantage-ground, and in *practice* become so heathenised, so infected with indifference, and perverted by Anti-Catholic prejudices, that even the actual Church of Rome can set her finger upon our defects and degeneracy ? These words are not strong enough ; for only reflect how true, for three hundred years, that thought of the poet has been —

Not for the floodgates opening wide
I fear, nor for the turbulent rushing tide,
But for the Church, so loth at her mysterious board
To meet her present Lord.
Therefore around thine altars deep
The angels bow, and weep.

How far are we yet from directing our practice by Acts ii. 42!

September 1, 1843.

I have preserved the above account as an exact landmark of my mind at the time it was written; the naïveté of which now strikes me. It is curious that, while so at fault, I fell at once on that very quality of the Mass, as setting forth the Godhead of our Lord, the act of His redemption, and the nature of the whole economy by which He restores us, which, in the first few months that I was a Catholic, most served to convince me, by experience, how futile was the Protestant objection to the cultus and position of our Blessed Lady in Catholic theology. The true solution was dimly breaking on me when I wrote as above.

Combined with this appreciation of what the Catholic religion offered to the mere outward observer (for we had not a single introduction, and I do not remember a single conversation which I held with any priest or other person, as, travelling post with our own party, we were quite isolated), there is a series of damaging contrasts in the Anglican establishment, which I note in the real suffering of my heart. The thoroughly puritanised state of our population, the want of reverence in our churches, the absence of prayer, the atmosphere of unbelief, the rarity of Eucharistic celebrations, the want of discipline in our clergy, the contempt, or rather

complete ignoring, of the priestly office and of confession, the absence of a distinctive dress, the abolition of the crucifix, holy water, crossing, and genuflection, in short our having 'in practice become so heathenised, so infected with indifference, and perverted by anti-Catholic prejudices, that even the actual Church of Rome' (note this, *even*, which speaks the force of past habits of mind and education), 'can set her finger on our defects and degeneracy.' I am sure that at this time the thought had never even crossed my mind of the possibility of my becoming a Catholic. I wrote these things in the exuberance of my strength as an Anglican. I made large admissions, noted strong contrasts, endeavoured 'to creep into the skin' of others (to use De Bammerville's expression), with a conviction that I was quite safe where I was—that there was simply a Church with divine powers to be restored, and that a great party had risen with strength to restore it, if the Bishops would only let them.

Upon my return to Launton I sent this little journal to E. Coleridge, who sent it to Mr. Dyson, whom I had never then seen. I was surprised to have from Coleridge a note of Mr. Dyson inclosed, cautioning the writer of the journal as to whither he was being carried. I thought the caution then very unnecessary; but it is hard to read the journal now without thinking it very natural. I mention this as a proof of unconsciousness in myself as to

my state. I thought I was simply striking an equitable balance between two communions, as an observer from a rock discerns two contrasted landscapes. But at the same time I had then, and always have had, the mind, come what may, to know the truth, and see things as they are, and act accordingly.

I came back to Launton, after that fortnight's excursion, produced, be it observed, by the lassitude of mind and thirst for stimulus which the solitude of Launton had created, with a seed deposited in my bosom which was to develop into a strong and all-absorbing purpose. Our journey had been fruitful in little incidents, as well as in sights strongly captivating the imagination. It was a keen delight, in the dull, flat, and moral desert of Launton, to retrace the 'dim religious light' of Chartres, the aspiring pillars of Amiens and St. Ouen. The state of my parish drove me daily to reflect on the advantages which I had observed in full and peaceful possession by the French clergy. How often, when unable to get at the conscience of some hardened old sinner, when sighing over the closed breasts, to me, of my school children, did that hurried visit, while the horses were changing, to the church of Poix, on the eve of the Assumption, and the people waiting at the confessional, recur to my thoughts! What is the reason of this difference, I said, mentally? Why does the priest do there, what I can never

arrive at here? Why has the Church in France, overthrown and impoverished fifty years ago, risen in her strength, and set about doing a work for the people, while the Church here, possessing for three hundred years the high places of the land, is despised and powerless just in the points where she ought to be strong—the trust of her people. From this time forth, therefore, I had a third force acting on me, besides the theology of the Fathers, and the practical state of my own parish—that is, the actual sight of the Church abroad, watched with a religious and yearning eye, and questions involved in this, which I had not yet solved, but which possessed for me the deepest interest, and would not allow me to leave them without at least every effort for solution.

Having been a year at Launton, about June 1843, I made an attempt to get removed to some other place, by writing to the Bishop of London; but he never condescended to answer my application. On my return this autumn, I believe I fully made up my mind to remain there. I continued writing sermons, and in April 1844 published a volume, of which the first eight were on the Epistle to the Romans; but I had not calculated on the discredit which had already fallen on the Puseyite body, and my sermons were not fitted to be preached; so, except praise from a few persons of judgment—such as Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Gladstone—they made little sensation, and I was deterred from publishing a volume

on the Parables, as setting forth the nature of the kingdom of God, or the Church, which I had much at heart.

With regard to this volume, I should say that it was dedicated, by permission, to Mr. Newman, by 'one thankful for his teaching and still more thankful for his example,' which words most feebly expressed the feelings which the writer then entertained.

I had placed these sermons in Mr. Newman's hands, and received from him in reply the following letter, which from its intrinsic value I insert:—

'LITTLEMORE: December 29, 1843.

'MY DEAR ALLIES,—I am much obliged to you for the sight of your very interesting sermons; and have nothing to say except that I shall be truly glad to find you deciding on publishing them. Such sermons are wanted, and cannot fail of making an impression. I have taken the liberty of putting one or two remarks in pencil, which I doubt whether you will be able to read, if you try—and doubt again whether you will be able to see the good of.

'As I may seem inconsistent or confused in some of them, I will here say briefly what I think of the justifying principle. I would say, that as we speak of the Divine mercy, justice, wisdom, power and the like, yet do not mean that they exist substantively, but in the Divine Mind, and are one with It and with each other, being different aspects under which we

view the *Una Res quæ est Deus*, so in like manner that which justifies us is a spiritual seed or element infused into us from above, and is neither faith, hope, love, nor contrition, by itself, but all of these at once, or something of which these are distinct names. And as we should not say that we were pardoned by God's justice or taught by His power, though justice and power do but stand for the same subject as mercy and wisdom, so it is wrong to say that we are justified by contrition or perfected by faith, though contrition and faith are but aspects of that which is also love. And as it would be wrong to make love a name for all attributes in the Divine Mind, though it implies and secures the presence of all, so it is inaccurate to say that faith is universal virtue, or that we are justified by all virtues, in being justified by faith. As God pardons in that He is merciful, so the new creature justifies us in that it is faith. This, I suppose, is what scholastic divines mean when they say that the formal cause of justifying faith (love) is external to faith—or that justifying faith has an external form. Faith which justifies remains what it was in its nature, but it is faith grafted upon love, or the new creature.

‘I am, my dear Allies,

‘Yours very truly,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

In answer to my request that he would allow me to dedicate the volume to him, he wrote:—

‘LITTLEMORE: January 8, 1844.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I feel the very great kindness of the proposal you make in your letter, and it has gratified me very much. I feel also its generosity just at this time. And I assure you that if I doubt about accepting it, or beg a little time, as I do, before giving you my final answer, I am practising a self-denial which is not pleasant to me.

‘I have various reasons which make me hesitate, more than I can put in order at a moment. It seems unsuitable in one who has retired from the active duties of his sacred profession, to be receiving such marks of kindness from others. I am not sure it is a thing I should like to look back upon some time hence. And then again, I have a very great dread of committing others to any association, however faint or vague, with myself. I will say to you, what the occasion makes me say, but which I should not like repeated as from me, that I am not to be trusted. Others say this freely, but I feel it myself too certainly, though it is not well openly to profess it.

‘I hope I am not asking too much in begging for a little time for thought.

‘Thank you for the pains you have been at to make out the meaning of what I said in my letter about the justifying principle. I wrote it when I was very tired, and on thinking of it afterwards became

anxious lest I had sent you what would only confuse the matter.

‘I am, my dear Allies,
‘Yours very truly,
‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

I endeavoured to remove the difficulties thus touched upon, and then received the following consent to my request:—

‘LITTLEMORE: January 12, 1844.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—After your letter of this morning I cannot resist the great gratification, as it is to me, of availing myself of your very kind offer, which I feel a great deal. You have done away with my main difficulties by what you say. I was afraid you might take me for what I was not.

‘With my very sincere thanks,
‘I am, my dear Allies,
‘Yours most truly,
‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

To the volume itself he answered thus:—

‘LITTLEMORE: April 16, 1844.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have this afternoon received your volume, for which, and for your kind dedication (of which I am quite unworthy), I thank you very much. I have been dipping into the sermons, and they seem to me to read very well, and to be likely to be generally interesting, as I am sure they will be useful. I am very glad you have pub-

lished them, and shall be anxious to hear that they make their way.

‘Yours very truly,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.

‘P.S.—You will see that in what I have said above, I have spoken of your volume externally. I should not speak in this off-hand way of what I feel to be its real merits.’

Later on I had asked him to write an article on my volume, to which he replied :—

‘ST. LEONARDS: January 23, 1845.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I would gladly do what you wish me, but really I am not in a becoming state of mind to write anything in such a publication on such subjects. I have not written in any review for three years, and then but one article, not on any ecclesiastical or doctrinal subject. In short, excepting my “Sermons” and the “Library of the Fathers,” I have employed myself in no publication (I think not, with the exception of that one article) since the publication of No. 90, four years ago. Even a year and more before that, I was trying to escape from matters of doctrine and the Church, but found it not easy to do so, or perhaps at that time allowable.

‘Under these circumstances, I know you will let me decline an undertaking, which otherwise would be as pleasant to me as any that could be put upon me. And I really do not think you will find a diffi-

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culty in finding others who would come to the subject with a fresher and more vigorous mind than, alas! I could bring to it at this time, even did I attempt it.

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

I have a letter from Mr. Keble, dated March 14, 1845, in which he writes, ‘I have only a minute to say that I have made a sort of engagement with Mr. Scott, of Hoxton, to write an article in the July number of the “Christian Remembrancer,” on your book; but whether it will be long or short, and on your book singly or with others, remains to be proved.’ It did not, in fact, ever appear. Mr. Gladstone sent to a presentation copy the following reply:—

13 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE:

Sunday, June 9, 1844.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have postponed thanking you for so kindly sending me your “Sermons,” because I felt that that office should not be discharged as a mere matter of ceremony; and having now perused by much the greater part of them, I can do it with a very good conscience.

‘Especially as regards the very arduous undertaking of the series on the Epistle to the Romans, with which the volume commences, may I venture to express my own feeling that while you have acted courageously in your acknowledgments to Mr. Newman, you have used a caution which I confess

it seems to me did not mark his work on the subject of Justification. By caution in this place I mean not provision against popular outcry, but the just balance of the various elements of the case, and the extraction of the general result in such a form as to give to each its just representation.

‘I daresay you have noticed the comments on that particular controversy in the charge of the Bishop of Saint David’s.

‘As I have said something which may seem to disparage Mr. Newman, I may mention what will interest you, that Mr. Lockhart, the editor of the “Quarterly,” lately told me he thought him the finest writer of the day.

‘I saw recently in the papers that you had been blessed with a child, and I sincerely hope all goes well.

‘Believe me, sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

REV. T. W. ALLIES,

Launton, Oxon.

From the late gifted Mrs. Henry Coleridge, I received the following letter, which I insert on account of its intrinsic interest:—

10 CHESTER PLACE: April 20, 1844.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—I received your “Sermons on the Romans” a few days ago, but would not write to thank you for the volume till I had learned, which I did from my brother yesterday, your proper address. I felt great pleasure in re-

ceiving this kind of gift from you, and shall accompany you on your difficult way through the Epistle to the Romans with real interest, often wishing that I could hear you deliver these and other discourses from the pulpit from time to time. They would gain by this—I mean those contained in the volume you have sent me, but only what I dare say they can well bear to be without, from their intrinsic merit.

‘ Surrounded as I am, like most of my neighbours in these printing days, with new works, and engaged with my boy and girl, as well as in other ways, I have as yet read but one Sermon of the set. This appears to me (for I take it for granted you will rather like to know my impression, though it be that of a woman and one of the laity) remarkably clear and happy in expression, and, as far as my understanding serves me, well reasoned. The quotations from Calmet, too, I thought excellent, and newer, or at least less commonly brought forward, than those from St. Augustine. My only dissatisfaction, doubt, or difficulty arose at that passage where you declare the doctrine, generally taught, not as a new thing but as a revival, in the school of Pusey—that we do not co-operate, except passively, with the act of the Holy Spirit by which we are justified, and that the true and genuine faith which fits us to receive the gift of Justification is *not* the co-operancy of the human spirit in the justifying and regenerating agency, but only a previous con-

dition. I well know the ordinary statements of divines on this point, and the methods by which they seek to explain and vindicate the position that seems to me so contradictory and unmeaning. Aquinas set his wits, and they were keen ones, to work on the subject with right good will. We have the result of his endeavours; and what is that? When in the earnest endeavour to find out the very truth itself rather than conform our words and thoughts to a received system of theology, we try to combine the abstract notions and phrases employed in these so-called explanations with living substantial ideas, does not that distinction between true faith as a condition of being justified, and faith as at once the inward means, and yet the result of Justification—the willing submission of the soul to the work of divine grace, evaporate in the process? Can either Aquinas or John Henry Newman (who is bolder, I think, in anti-Rationalism, to use a party term, than Aquinas) prove it reasonable and right to believe that the spirit of man can receive the Spirit of God passively, as a cup receives liquor poured into it? The cup receives passively, because it is dead matter, and that which it receives is material and without life. But the spirit of man is alive and exists in action, is essentially active. As soon as it actually exists it acts; and surely it cannot be justified before it is actually existent. It can only be acted upon according to its own nature. To say

therefore that *spirit* receives *spirit* PASSIVELY appears a contradiction in terms, if we consider what spirit is, and what the receiving of a spirit (*i.e.* a spirit's receiving) must be. In the cup there is *mere* receptivity; but the receptivity of a spirit is reciprocity, or an active receiving, that is to say, a movement of will.

‘When God’s Spirit moved on the face of the waters, it was as the spirit of life, though not of spiritual life, and here, too, there was a co-operancy, by the divine power and will, to the production of the effect—an answering movement, or, as it were, an active compliance, without which the organism of this blooming, breathing world, such as it is, and of such a nature as it is, could not have arisen. For this was God’s will, that such an answering movement should be, and that his creation should be one to which it was indispensable. And, surely, just so He operates on man, that world in little, calling up within him a spiritual power to co-operate with His act, without which the effect, the justified state of the soul, could no more come to pass than this earth could have been filled with life and bloom and motion, had it remained passive under the touch of the Almighty, as a cup when liquor is poured into it, and not sprung up responsively as a lute under the fingers of the lutanist.

‘I drive at this point a good deal, because it seems to me a cardinal one. If a plant or an animal cannot be said to have received life before it performs

the acts of life in some way or other ; and as soon as it ceases to do these it falls to decay, the copula being gone, neither surely can the soul of man receive spiritual life before it acts spiritually, and the spiritual act that arises upon the act of the Holy Spirit, and without which it is not complete as an operation, or working of an effect, can be nothing less, I think, than an act of receiving and an active co-operation.

‘I should like, if you were within conversing distance, to hear what you think of Mr. Newman’s last volume. Mr. Percival, and I believe others of the Oxford school, are full of grief and displeasure at a part of its contents. So far as I have read or heard what it contains, I can see nothing in it of an un-Anglican tendency, which is not plainly indicated in the ‘Church of the Fathers.’ His sermon called the ‘Apostolical Christian’ does not surprise me so much from the boldness of its views (the author’s position considered), as from the strangeness of the reasoning. It seems to me in this respect unworthy of him ; he does not often lay himself so open to a ready reply. His “Sermons Preached before the University” I admire the most of all his publications, upon the whole, though I regret that he should persist, throughout the volume, in using the term *Reason* in what I believe to be an improper and misleading sense. He might have found authorities for a stricter and more consistent use of it among some

great writers of old times, which would have justified him in helping to redeem it from popular misunderstanding and misapplication. Some of those discourses, however, are among the finest compositions of our day.

‘Pray remember me very kindly to Mrs. Allies, of whose health I have been glad to receive lately better reports. My own is weak, but I hope not increasingly so.

‘Believe me, with much obligation,

‘Yours faithfully,

‘SARA COLERIDGE.

‘I have expressed my present convictions to you freely, as I do to all my friends who are kind enough to send me their works.’

CHAPTER III.

FROM CONFIDENCE TO FEAR.

I HAD now by my private study reached the conclusion, after many efforts, that post-baptismal sin required sacramental confession and absolution. In April 1844, I went to Mr. Newman for that purpose. He rather wished to excuse himself, as having doubts on certain points. I remember replying that my difficulties were not of that nature. I believe, as I wrote in 1849, that at this time, though 'I had abundant difficulties in detail, and a most painful sense of defects, I had no serious doubts on *the whole position* of the Church of England.' Hitherto the discouragements in my parish, and the plain inability of Anglicanism to grapple with a disaffected or heathenised people, to nurture the young, or receive back the wandering, together with the glimpses of the early Church which my dippings into the Fathers had given me, and the sight of the actual living Church, had done no more than this: they had produced a mind sensitively alive to practical evils, and searching for their causes. 'Ubi lapsi,

quid fecimus?' was its burden. But the problem remained for it quite unsolved. I was perpetually asking myself why we were not better—why our bishops were such a set of trimming shilly-shally knaves;¹ why our clergy had such varieties of belief, and so unsacerdotal a bearing; why our people loved the meeting-house and their own way; why they felt no confidence in the clergyman, and had no sense of needing his services. But this state was about to develop into a more advanced one. 'I have often remarked,' I write in 1849, 'as a very curious point, how, from the time of this first confession, the latter doubts (on the *whole position* of Anglicanism) have grown. Was a spiritual veil then removed?' Now it is easy to me to see, according to the usual law of God in bestowing grace, and rewarding with further light those who use what they have already, that the great effort of conscience made in confessing was likely to be followed thus, by an accession of light, as to where confession and absolution were really to be found. Another thing is no less curious. That spring I had quite made up my mind to stay at Launton, and had precipitately—in my disgust at the Protestant practice of pews—ordered my whole church to be fitted with open oak pews. The church was shut for some weeks, and re-

¹ I once put the conduct which I signalise by this epithet to a Bishop's brother, the late H. W. Wilberforce; he replied:—'Look what a team they have to drive.' That is the explanation of charity.

opened on September 1.¹ Before that time, all my trust in Anglicanism was gone. Had the pewing been delayed three months, it never would have taken place. My spirits sank in July 1844; and, as I write in 1849, 'though I always feel it a comfort to look at my nave now, yet have I never looked at the Church of England with confidence since, or at the material fabric, without an inner tacit questioning, Is the Divine Presence here? Am I right in being here? How long shall I be here?'

I had suddenly found a key to my questionings. Mr. Ward's book on the 'Ideal of a Christian Church' had appeared. I had read it eagerly. Here was the whole question on which I had been brooding dealt with by a more advanced mind, and in a very peremptory manner. Here was a solution suggested why my supposed mother cared so little for her child's anxiety; why she only snubbed him when he curiously inquired how souls were to be saved in her; why she thought it *unfilial*

¹ I had before this, in December 1843, thrown down by an energetic onslaught, between Monday morning and Saturday night, a hideous gallery which obscured the west end of the church, and bore in flaming characters on it the names of a former Rector and an actual parishioner. This was the chosen resort of the young men and women of my parish, as well as the boys and girls, being equally convenient for nut-cracking and love-making. Dire was the anger which its removal occasioned in many such breasts. I had also secured the whole south aisle for my seats. My wife was seriously out of temper at the removal of the gallery, in a way I could hardly understand. The truth was she looked with suspicion on everything I was doing.

when he discerned her nakedness. Mr. Ward's book, in short, supplied me with the *reasons* for my difficulties. It was the passage from considering the Anglican Church a *machine out of order* but *restorable*, to considering her a monster with two heads and no feet. I did not indeed at once come to this conclusion, and as long as Mr. Newman remained, my mind was curiously suspended, and held *μετέωρος*. The following is an entry, dated on my thirty-second birthday, February 12, 1845:—‘God’s providence, in sending me to this place, hitherto so dark and discouraging to me, has been greatly unfolded. Surely it is a place of refuge for me. An Egypt or a Nazareth in one point of view, but a Zoar in another. A great lesson of my own weakness and powerlessness to do good, as well as of man’s wickedness, I was surely to learn. I was in great danger of perishing through vain-glory; therefore I am corrected by a place the whole tendency of which is to lead me to work unto God, and not as unto man, as well as to humble and sadden me. Very painfully at times do I feel, especially on Sundays, my spiritual isolation, the wretched state of my people, the scarcely less deplorable state in general of the Church. May God turn all these thoughts to good, and teach me to seek strength in Him alone !

‘*Since my last birthday, one very important change of view has developed itself; a secret and yet undefined*

dread that we are in a state of schism. All that I see around me seems so little like the Church, as either revealed in the Bible, or realised in early ages. Confusion of face meets us on every side. *In this respect* Ward's book gave but an articulate voice to the conclusion to which I had been for some time more and more inclining. This is a fearful vision hanging over the future. "In all things may I know God's will, and at all times be ready to fulfil it." "

From April 1844 I saw Mr. Newman from time to time, and my chief comfort and support were derived from what he said to me; but still more, I think, from *seeing him where he was*. At length this support was to be taken away. May 19, 1845, I went to Littlemore, in company with Mr. Dodsworth. We had an interesting conversation with him, of which I have the notes, and he disclosed to us that he had made up his mind to leave Anglicanism.

My record of this interview is as follows. He said:--

'I cannot conceive how we can be said in any true sense to be parts of one kingdom with the Church abroad. I see everywhere in the Prophecies the Church set forth as a Kingdom. Now we Englishmen would say at once, in temporal matters, that where there are separate legislatures or sovereign powers, there cannot be one kingdom. For instance, we hear everybody saying that if the Union with Ireland were repealed, there would be a dismember-

ment of the Empire. We are in no sense one kingdom with America. This is readily admitted in temporal sovereignties; how then can we, in any true sense, be members of one kingdom with the Church abroad? I must say this has very great weight with me. But we Englishmen never carry out a principle. Guizot, and statesmen abroad, say we are admirable as practical statesmen; in our actual diplomacy we are superior to all. But they despise us in scientific reasoning; we never go to the bottom of a matter, never carry a principle out.

‘It was hinted that this mode of reasoning would cut off both the Russian and Greek Churches, as well as ourselves. Newman replied: “Certainly it would. You must see how far your principle would carry you.

“I am exceedingly and painfully struck with the likeness our actual position bears to that of the ancient heretics.” “What, the Donatists?” “Yes, and the Monophysites also: but they are all the same.” (I believe he meant as to their spirit of pride and exclusiveness which led them, out of fancied superiority, not to hesitate to break the unity of the one kingdom.) “I do not think that anything can be deduced from the supposed corruptions of a community, *as they appear to an individual*. It would be unsafe to argue from them. Over and above the difficulties which beset the whole question of our position would be that of knowing *whither one is*

going." The expressions in Oakeley's letter were alluded to. He said, "I quite know what you mean." (I believe he expressed himself very warmly and energetically on this point, but I cannot remember the words; and perhaps this part of the conversation especially gave us the impression that he did not intend to make any movement himself. Certainly he seemed to gather up, throughout, the difficulties attending a change, rather than to encourage it in any way. His manner was perfectly cheerful and unembarrassed throughout, but latterly I thought I saw tears about his eyes.) He was asked what he thought of the state of young men's minds at Oxford. "I cannot tell," he said, "but I have my fears. I cannot but dread many being thrown back by want of sympathy upon literature or liberalism. Tait's estimate of parties in a late pamphlet was referred to. He seemed to think that there was harm to be apprehended from the rise of a school such as Tait mentioned. Arnold's life had done damage, but Arnold is so very inconsistent. "Is it possible," I asked, "that the yearning for something better which has been awakened in so many minds can be quenched?" He answered despondingly: and such altogether seemed his view of our Church.

'We were interrupted by a stranger coming in, and this led us to remark that church time was near. He said he would show the church to us. The bell was ringing, and we had only a moment to look at

it. As he attended us out to the churchyard gate, and was taking leave, he said to D.: "Was there any other question you would have liked to ask me?" D. replied: "You must not answer what I am going to say if it is in any way impertinent. But it is said in London that you desire it to be known generally that you are going over to Rome. I should like to be able to contradict it." "That is too strong," he said. "There were persons to whom I have wished it to be known—friends: but not generally." He shook hands and went into church, but I saw an immediate change pass over his countenance, which became very pale and firm; he seemed to have said what had cost him a great effort, and to have recovered his calmness. We both remarked how contrary was this conclusion to what had seemed to us the bearing of his conversation. He took us entirely by surprise. He had the mien of a man who saw all manner of difficulties in the course he was taking, who wished his example to be followed by no one, because it was *his*; but who yet was decided by some immovable and overpowering conviction which he had not communicated.'

The above account was submitted to Mr. Dodsworth, who sent me the following reply in reference to it.

' GLOUCESTER GATE: May 22, 1845.

' MY DEAR ALLIES,—Many thanks for your letter. Your recollection is very correct. I had noted down many of the same things less perfectly.

‘When speaking of the Church as a kingdom, he used the expression, “*The strongest thing with me is the prediction,*” &c. This seems important as witnessing to that which has chief influence with him. In reference to his remark about “knowing whither one is going,” the tawdry waxen images of the Blessed Virgin were referred to; upon which N. spoke of the loss sustained by the Roman Catholics in the absence of the Saxon element. Also he said the case of Sibthorp was a warning; though not much stress could be laid upon it.

‘On its being remarked that the Church of England suffered severely from its connection with the State, he observed that it also owed much to this—what else would have become of it in the last generation? or in the days of Hoadly? But he assented to the remark that its connection with the State had tended materially to bring it into this condition, and to produce such Bishops as Hoadly.

‘He then remarked on the favourable circumstance of such men as Horne, and even Horsley, being held in higher esteem than men of greater powers and less piety. (Qy. whether this truly applies to *Horsley*.)

‘He admitted also that the Church of England flourished most under circumstances of poverty.

‘He spoke of the absence of the ascetic element in the Church, among the Roman Catholics as well as ourselves.

‘When it was remarked that the Church of England had produced such men as Pusey (it might have been added, also, as *himself*), he would not allow of living examples—“We do not know what Pusey will be.” But he seemed to allow in such cases as Hammond, Nicholas Farrer, &c., that in this respect we might be unlike the Donatists, &c.

‘This is all I have in addition to yours. I agree with you that the less said the better of him and his probable movements. I cannot bring myself to think that his secession from us is *certain*—though but too likely. Ever yours,

‘W. DODSWORTH.

‘Perhaps you would ask for your cousin’s prayers, in reference to Sisters of Mercy.’

‘As soon as I could escape observation, I wept bitterly over it,’ I find recorded of this visit. In 1849, I write of this time: ‘Wars and rumours of wars followed immediately on Ward’s book. There was the attempt to oust Symons in October 1844. Then the new Statute, and constant meetings in Oxford about it. In February 1845 came the great contest to censure Ward—the attack on Tract 90. From time to time, I consulted J. H. N., who always quieted me. My visit to him, with Dodsworth, May 19, 1845, when we learnt his determination to leave us, was a terrible blow. *I think I have never felt the same person since.*’ This, no doubt, is no exaggera-

tion. His mind had been, for many years, educating mine: his books were the instruments by which I was drawn out of my foreign radicalism, and loose, incoherent Protestantism. His influence was my real *point d'appui* in the Anglican Church. This same month, having completed a course of thirteen sermons on Abraham, I was led to give up this part of pastoral work. By the prospect of Newman's leaving us, as well as from its own internal progress, my mind was put wholly into a controversial state. It was impossible to me, any longer, with the most instant questions of daily practice and the whole ground of theory unsettled, and with my whole spirit on tenterhooks, to compose plain sermons for a very dull, country congregation. I preferred using those of others, ready to hand. I was drawing nearer and nearer to the great contest and trial of my life. I was approaching the problem which day after day lay upon me, agitated and tormented me: Was there standing-ground for the Church of England at all? Or, was I, like Abraham, to go out, knowing not whither I went? Newman's movement, no doubt, struck away the τὸ κάτεχον, which had hitherto held me back from simply facing that question. And, from this time forth, to the crowning act, September 11, 1850, is a time of the severest *spiritual* trial which a man can go through: a very intricate and complicated question of religion, as it seemed, involving, in the way that it should be

decided, all the dearest interests of life : on the one hand, the dread of acting or concluding from any but conscientious motives ; on the other hand, the perpetual destruction of one's worldly position depending on a particular conclusion. If mere mental anxiety could derange or kill, this was enough to do either, for me, or for my wife—the helpless spectator of these struggles, and, in some respects, worse off than myself—as she had to form her own judgment very much by the effects produced on me, and that by causes which she could not go into.

And here I am brought to another matter, which, somehow or other, had sprung up in my mind, since my sojourn at Launton, and by this time already was causing it considerable disquietude, viz. the incompatibility of marriage with sacerdotal functions. If ever any person was *taken in* in this matter, it was I. Wholly unformed in theological views when I became an Anglican minister, I had taken the tradition and discipline (so to call what is rather a want of discipline) of the Anglican Church on this subject as indubitable. The words, 'Let a Bishop be the husband of one wife,' had seemed to be decisive ; and I married in the fullest confidence that such a state was perfectly lawful and desirable for a Christian minister. With the growth of truer views as to the office and functions of that ministry, and glimpses of ancient discipline which broke upon me, I became disquieted : first, I utterly condemned second mar-

riages in ministers ; the Scripture itself, as it seemed by all honest interpretation, at least, doing that. But I did not stop there. I was now arrived at the true notion of the presbyterate, as a real *sacerdotium*, as an office the main function of which was to offer the tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice for the living and the dead. Instinct, itself, whispered to me that such a function and the use, at least, of marriage, did not go well together. Then I learnt that neither in the East, nor the West, had the marriage of priests, once ordained, ever been allowed : that the West, moreover, had, from very early times, set itself against even the use of previous marriage in its ministers ; while the East had done the same with regard to Bishops. I felt even in my own instance how much the necessary cares of married life render a man a slave to the world, and the text was ever in my ears, ‘Thou, then, labour as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man, being a soldier, entangleth himself with secular business’ (2 Tim. ii. 4). I found the Anglican writers on this subject, even the most reputable, such as Bingham, plainly concealing and tampering with the case ; so much was the practice of all antiquity opposed to that of their own communion. Nor can I except the Tract writers, who undoubtedly knew a good deal more than they chose to say on this subject, and who carried their *economy* here beyond, I think, the bounds of honesty. Thus, at this time, and until I left

Anglicanism, my mind was raw and uncomfortable on this subject, and I felt ashamed of myself, and of my Church. And I believe the profound conviction of the utter incompatibility existing between the duties of a married life and those of a priest, in no small degree, led me finally to see that truth lay with that communion which imposes the law of celibacy, unfalteringly, on all her ministers; except, indeed, that in the case of Greek Uniate priests she tolerates a relaxation dating from the Council of Trullo, A.D. 682, which allows a marriage contracted before ordination. I have never ceased to honour the divinely inspired wisdom of this law of priestly celibacy and to recognise in it one of the strongest proofs that the Church is led by the Spirit of God, and 'overcometh the world.'

And I was now approaching another remarkable epoch in my mental growth. The experience of 1844 had assured me that I could not stay at Launton the whole summer without suffering to such a degree as to incapacitate me for work. Mind became even more out of order than body, and the extreme mental solitude of Launton made me feel that I needed such a change of scene as perhaps foreign travel alone supplies. While, therefore, we all were going away to Bideford for a few weeks on a visit to my wife's father, I looked about for a companion to go with me into France, and challenged Marriott. He wished to obtain certain information for himself, and so in

June 1845 we started on a tour which was destined to open my eyes to much of the power and sanctity of the Catholic Church, and to bring the whole question of the Anglican position, touched already by Newman's expected movement, and my own growth, in the liveliest manner before me.

Here again all was *imprévu* on my part. So far from thinking of writing on the subject of the Church in France, I had no recommendations to any one abroad, nor any acquaintances. I left Marriott to settle everything, and to go where he liked. But it is worth while considering what the three years which I had now spent at Launton had done.

In July 1842 I went there with the firmest confidence in the Church of England, grieved at the conduct of her bishops, but convinced that a great future was open to her, if the Puseyite movement was not stifled. This almost overweening confidence in her position was indicated in that autumn of 1842 by my conduct towards the dissenters. I thought we had inherited the full mediæval rights of the Catholic Church in England, and that dissent was our great enemy. Beyond our own island for *practical* purposes I had not gone. And it is marvellous to me now to reflect that in laying down so absolutely the theory of unity, and the guilt of schism, as I do in those sermons on the unity of the Church in 1841 and 1842, I did not perceive what a tremendous blow, as regards my own mind, I was preparing for

the Anglican Church herself; how completely I should come to see, ‘*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*,’ and that I was bound by my own principles. At least it is a comfort to reflect that I did not repudiate the principles themselves when I saw what they involved, as so many have done since the Gorham decision. Now in these three years I find three causes in incessant operation, which gradually unclose my eyes—the increasing knowledge of the Fathers and Christian antiquity, the manifest inadequacy of the Anglican system to deal with its people, which tormented me each day, and the glimpse of the Roman system in 1843; all of them increased by the throwing back of my mind on its own thoughts, which a life of solitude, and particularly one removed from external sympathy, produces. These were the fruits of my life at Launton which came to me in the form of a punishment for maintenance of my principles. ‘What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.’ And so I went abroad in June 1845, determined to find the truth at all costs, and to arrive as nearly as possible at the point of facing directly the question *where* the truth was.

Marriott took me to Keble’s house at Hursley, which I visited with great interest. The impression which the single day there spent has ever since left on me is that his life was pre-eminently domestic—with a wife and a sister to his heart he shut himself

out from the roaring of the blast which pierced me through and through. That is, his life exemplified his words—

Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky.

Confessor or martyr he was not made to be, but an ecclesiastical Walton, fishing by the side of quiet streams, and enjoying the lights and shadows as he dangled his trout at the end of his rod: no Athanasius, as I had dreamed, but an Anglican parson. From thence we went on to Havre, and stopped at Yvetot, as Marriott said he wished to visit a priest there who had become known to him not long before at Oxford. We went to him and passed many hours of the day in conversation with him. It was my first trial of such talk, half-inquiry, half-controversy, with a Catholic, and it interested me extremely. He put us in the way of seeing things and persons at Rouen and at Paris. In fine, this visit, of which I think Marriott had not even spoken beforehand, was not only the commencement of a most valuable friendship to me, but led to our spending the ensuing month in searching out Catholic sights, and getting so far as we could at the interior life of the Catholic Church. Thus were we most busily engaged till near the end of July. The first part of my Journal in France is the written fruit of that visit. But the impulse then given to my thoughts and feelings was exceedingly great. I came back to Launton, pos-

sessed, as it were, with a secret which I had never suspected. To the sight—nay, the hourly, daily, monthly feeling, and touch, and taste, and smell of Anglican penury, had succeeded a vision of Catholic wealth. And Marriott's kicks and struggles against the effect of what he saw with me, had their influence too. I used to put questions to him just as they occurred to me, and he would answer in a pet: 'I cannot reply to such questions as that while I am putting on my gloves.' Poor soul! It was his *first principle*, his ἀρχή of existence, that Pusey and Anglicanism *must* be right, and the more awkward the facts he had to deal with, the more he was troubled and put out, but not convinced: for—

He that's convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still.

His great unconquerable fact was—Pusey!!

Nevertheless, I believe that the dear and good Charles Marriott was the most conscientious of men. Perhaps such matters always made his head swim; he feared their physical effect upon him, and had reason for that fear. Let me give this testimony to the memory of one who, I am sure, would have laboured to the utmost and suffered any loss for what he esteemed to be the truth.

At the end of July I was back at Launton. The following entry of August 10 conveys my state of mind: 'Since my return home I have been more troubled in mind than for near eight years past I

can remember to have been. I think this has arisen from a general, but very vivid, sense of the deficiencies of the English Church, and of her very dubious position, which has been impressed on me by what I have heard and seen in France. I have been unable to apply to anything. The prospects of the Church have appeared to me in the darkest view—all the arguments for our separate existence have been obscured: all those against it vividly present. May God brace me to the vigorous discharge of daily duties, that light may spring out of this darkness.’ On this occasion, as before, I seem to have been quieted by Newman, for I find the following entry in my journal: ‘*August 11.*—I went to Littlemore, the last time that I consulted him as a confessor and director. ‘He said he could not use the form of absolution, so only asked advice. He recommended use of 27th and 119th Psalms, and others, *with intention*, for illumination; and that *being* done, to put aside the *direct* consideration of doubts and troubles. If they are from God, they will force themselves again upon the mind.’ And again, under date: *August 17*—‘Blessed be God, since my visit to Oxford I have been more comfortable and composed in mind. I seem to feel that it is the will of God that I should remain quiet where I am in the discharge of everyday duties, and this is all I can desire. I have felt my interest in things around me restored. I have been quietly arranging for studies

to come—have finished my diary, and hope soon to recommence sermons, or a steady course of reading.’

On this occasion—August 11—I also put to J. H. N. ‘whether it was the abstract case of schism in Elizabeth’s proceedings that made his difficulty. He said, “I have never considered it in so technical a point of view. I am not sufficiently acquainted, and care not to be, with the historical events, to judge. It is rather the existing state of separation, the heresy, &c.” He quoted “*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*” I asked whether circumstances were not so changed since then as to make that inapplicable. He replied, “I tried for a long time to rest in that view, but I could not.” Afterwards, “I have had for four years, in November, the strongest conviction that there is no choice between the Church of Rome and infidelity—not that I have ever been tempted to infidelity,” here he checked himself, “though one would not say that boastingly, lest a judgment should come upon one,—but as a fact I have never been so tempted. I feared if I resisted this conviction, the other might come in judgment upon me.” His state has been more comfortable since his present decision. He will probably resign his fellowship in October, and after publishing he cannot say how soon the final step may follow. He took an affectionate leave of me, warmly grasping my hand, and saying, “God bless you!”’

After finishing my journal, I set about reading

Petavius, and from him diverged to Newman's 'Sermons on the Relation of Faith to Reason.' I well remember also the disconsolate feeling with which I began to compare the ritual of the Catholic with that of the Anglican Church, and as the thought came full before me that perhaps it would be my duty to become a Catholic, I said to myself, the divine command ought to be as clear as that given to Abraham, for the sacrifice would be as great. The thought of it was most terrible to me. I also went at this time over the Articles of the Council of Trent, and partly over the 'Catechismus ad Parochos,' and Lacordaire's 'Life of St. Dominic,' and his 'Letter on the Holy See,' which last especially delighted me. I don't think I had any difficulty as to the Council or its Catechism. And certainly the decision and clearness of their tone struck me much.

Friday, October 10, at breakfast with Marriott. I received from him the intelligence that J. H. N. had become Catholic, and I write:—'I had been so long expecting the blow that it was almost a relief when it was come.' On returning home, I found a note from him, 'telling me of the fact, and expressing the clearness of his intellectual conviction that he was doing right.'

'LITTLEMORE: October 9, 1845.

'MY DEAR ALLIES,—I am to be received into what I believe to be the one Church and the one Communion of Saints this evening, if it is so ordained. Father

Dominic the Passionist is here, and I have begun my confession to him. I suppose two friends will be received with me.

‘May I have only one-tenth part as much faith as I have intellectual conviction, where the truth lies! I do not suppose anyone can have had such combined reasons poured upon him that he is doing right. So far I am most blessed; but, alas! my heart is so hard, and I am taking things so much as a matter of course, that I have been quite frightened lest I should not have faith and contrition enough to gain the benefit of the sacraments. Perhaps faith and reason are incompatible in one person, or nearly so.

‘Ever yours most sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

At the end of this month came a visit to the consecration of St. Saviour’s, Leeds, the whole effect of which was damping to my mind. The conduct of the Bishop (Longley) and Dr. Hook disgusted me. Of the former I note that he gave us, the morning the church was consecrated, ‘a sermon of deplorable feebleness, and the most calumnious misrepresentation of the Church of Rome.’ He made out our peculiar blessing to consist in the possession of the Bible, ‘the instrument whereby the soul is new-born to God.’¹ Of Church, or ministers, or sacraments,

¹ I quoted this indignantly to Dr. Pusey, and remember his defending it as susceptible of a right meaning.

not a word was said, save, indeed, that this possession of the Scriptures gave the people the means of judging whether their ministers preached the Gospel to them. I have rarely been so disgusted as by this sermon.' Rich sauce, no doubt, after my visit to France.

In this visit I first met Henry Wilberforce, whose mind, I suppose, was as nearly as possible in my own state. He said, 'I am fairly beat, done in my parish. I feel we can do nothing in the Church of England without confession; but how we are to get it, I see not.' 'H. Wilberforce is one of the most thorough and decided persons I have met with. It was a comfort to find his experience and his opinions so exactly coincide with my own.'

Just after returning from Leeds, I went to Littlemore—November 5, 1845—of which visit I write:—
'Went to see J. H. N. at Littlemore. I had resolved to give three full years to this dreadful Roman controversy, and, *whatever* might be my convictions, to do nothing during that time. And I wished to ask him to set me upon a course of reading, and moral and intellectual discipline for that time. When I asked him this, he said it would be better to wait and read his book, and then consult him on any particular point. It was such a *sea*. When I asked specifically whether there was anything wrong in taking a considerable time, whatever might be one's feelings, his answer struck me as very different in

tone from what it used to be. (In truth, from April 1844, down to my last interview with him in August 1845, before his becoming a Catholic, he had uniformly quieted me by checking precipitation and advising delay.) He said he could not answer such a question without consulting those in authority—that, indeed, no general answer could be given—that it must depend on the subjective state of each individual. I alluded to his own case, and the many years taken since his convictions were what they now are. He said he had had such a distrust of argument. The great point seemed to be whether the conscience was touched; if it was, then great delay seemed not allowable. The Roman Catholics asked this, Is the conscience touched? It is not to be wondered at that N.'s tone is changed, but the change is very marked; before he was so uniformly decisive about waiting, circumspection, &c. However, he admitted that a person in doubt was at worst in the position of a catechumen waiting for baptism.' 'It was a great delight to see him again. One just feels that one would be content to do anything and to go anywhere with him.'

The whole of this interval, since my return from France, I had in fact been waiting, to see what account of his change Newman would give. Never had I waited so anxiously for any book; and doubtless this was the case with many others; for I find remarks about persons still Protestants, which show in what a state of suspense they then were.

‘Thursday, November 27.—Went into Oxford to get J. H. N.’s book, so anxiously waited for, and with a combination of opposite feelings—love, fear, curiosity;’ *‘returned in evening with my treasure.’*

‘Tuesday, December 2.—Had a long talk with W. Palmer; he thinks J. H. N.’s book by far the most able defence of Roman Catholicism which has appeared. It promises to become ecumenical. It was portentous to think of such a book as Newman’s being a new and most able defence of Catholicism, coming from without the Church.’

CHAPTER IV.

SOLVING THE PROBLEM BY STUDY.

AT last, November 27, 1845, the book came out: an essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. It directed my studies, I may say, for the next five years. I read it with avidity, and a certain parallel which he drew in the preface between the Patristic evidence for the Real Presence, and that for the Papal Supremacy, determined me to single out that point and pursue it to its conclusion. It appeared to me then, and has ever since, that the Papal Supremacy was the key to the whole controversy—the centre of the whole position. My resolution was made to go honestly to the Fathers, and to see whether their witness was in favour of Rome or not. In doing this, I certainly expected the result would be, that I should be convinced of the claims of Rome; and I thought that by appealing to those who lived so many ages before the Reformation I had found judges beyond the reach of corruption, and of conclusive authority. Writing to Newman to ask whether he could tell me of any author who had

collected all the passages of the Fathers on the subject, while he said that he knew not of any such work, he referred me to a note of Feuardentius on Irenæus, and to 'The Faith of Catholics,' of which he believed a new edition was about to appear. I therefore set to work by myself, and my plan was to consult the index in the case of the different Fathers—S. Leo, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, and others—and pursue every notice about *Primacy*, *S. Peter*, and such-like subjects, as far as they would carry me. This I did at the beginning of 1846, and rapidly got a *view*. The Roman Primacy seemed confirmed on all sides.

I was thus occupied till March 19, when I began writing an article for the 'Christian Remembrancer,' which was to embody the *view* I had acquired; that is, that the unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity represented the Church as governed by a Patriarchal system (as I called it) at the head of which was the Bishop of Rome, whose power was limited by the Canons and by usage. Now, taking the Church of England, not as she really was—that is, subject to the civil supremacy of the Crown, constituted and set in action, since 1534 and 1559, by that supremacy—but as Newman had striven to represent her, and as I had conceived her; that is, as constituted by her hierarchy under her archiepiscopal sees—I spied a mode of defence for her, as resting still on this so-called Patriarchal system, 'as opposed to the Papal.' It was not an unnatural conclusion

for one to reach who had had no systematic instruction in theology or Church government. Assuming Episcopacy as being, beyond question, of divine right, I did not analyse the ground on which Episcopacy itself rests, or the basis of relation between the several bishops of the world. I came across the words, *order* and *jurisdiction*, and the powers assigned to each, without grasping their *idea*, and they remained entirely *in confuso* in my mind. Thus, seeing an action similar to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury in his province exercised over the whole West by the Roman See, and an interference, at least at certain crises, with the East and its highest bishops, by the same See, I most freely admitted its Primacy, without going so far on as to reach any principle on which it rested, and so I called this 'Patriarchal' system '*opposed*' to the 'Papal.' For want, in other words, of elementary knowledge which would have been supplied to the merest tyro wherever theology was taught as a science, while I searched out most perseveringly, and watched most honestly, all the outward acts of the Church and its hierarchy, I failed to catch any *principle* on which they rested, and consequently, in spite of industry and honesty, in spite of going to the Fathers, and following every clue they supplied, I only here again 'saw men as trees walking.' I quoted over and over again acts of the highest import to any one who had already the key to their meaning in the possession of this

principle, while I myself did not discern their force, and was ever looking for something further, which did not come. Then, again, the time was far too short for such a study. I had been for three months at the utmost considering the acts of the Church and the expressions of the Fathers ; for the first time attempting to grasp the history of a Catholic system, and to arrange its parts, and then I began to write on it. This first sketch was commenced March 19, 1846 ; and finished April 7. It occupied about 100 pages, and was left with J. Mozley as an article for the ‘Christian Remembrancer.’ I say respecting it, April 16, 1846 : ‘I have certainly satisfied my own mind on the point of *schism*, so long, that is, as the present position is maintained ;’ which latter clause has reference to a supposed holding aloof on the part of the Anglican Church from the acts of the foreign Reformation, and a restriction of herself within her own territorial limits, and the ordinary functions of her bishops—both visionary notions, but strongly insisted on by Newman, when he tried to set Puseyism on its legs.

Now, as to these three months—January, February, March, 1846—the following was my state of mind, as exhibited in scattered notices of my diary :

‘*January* 28.—It is frightful to think how nearly two months have passed since I wrote here last—sorrowful months, in which deep distress at the state of the Church has been the prevailing feeling. At

times this has quite destroyed my equanimity, and made me fit for nothing.'

'*January 19.*—Went to Eton. The week after my return (from ten days spent at Worcester) I had been extraordinarily depressed. At times, I seem to have no standing-ground in the English Church, and intensely repelled by her spirit, yet unable to recognise the Roman Church as the *only* one, and the feeling that if one left one's present communion one would be so utterly torn up by the roots, and dashed on the sea-shore to perish like sea-weed, is very trying.'

This image alone conveys my state of mind at the prospect of becoming a Catholic for five years before I took the step.

'*February 2.*—Purification. A beautiful day. H. C. this morning. Said noon prayers with special intention of making an oblation of myself—body, soul, and spirit, to God. May He receive me, enlighten and sanctify me! "O, send out Thy light and Thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto Thy holy hill and to Thy tabernacle, and that I may go unto the altar of God, even the God of my joy and gladness; and upon the harp will I give thanks unto Thee, O God, my God."¹ He knows what disquieting thoughts about His dwelling and altar harass me. May He guide them to the right

¹ These words became my constant prayer, and I asked Labbé, Père de Ravignan, and others, I believe, to pray for me in them.

issue, and give me grace to follow wherever He shall lead!’

On February 4, at a short visit with Marriott to J. H. N. at Littlemore, I note that ‘he seemed to distinguish between power of the keys and confession. M. remarked it to me, and wondered what was the drift of this.’ That is, we neither of us had a notion about jurisdiction.

I saw W. Palmer, at intervals, and his remarks had always considerable weight with me.

‘February 11.—W. Palmer came in. He allowed, entirely, that the words of S. Gregory seem to cut off the Papacy from its extreme claim. But history is full of these difficulties: he instanced the rejection, apparently, of the *Filioque* by Leo III.’

‘February 17.—W. Palmer says our sins and deficiencies are endless, but still he thinks us free from schism. Acknowledges his mistake in his pamphlets of supposing there was anything in the English Church to answer such a tone. Should not do so now. He has a very poor opinion of our Episcopacy; thoroughly Erastian.’

‘April 24.—Talking with —— I find that “he said it might be questioned whether it were not a duty to submit even to the claim of Rome, allowing it to be an usurpation, rather than to break unity.” But ——

On September 8, 1850, when I read for the last time the evening Anglican service, in the Psalms for the day, they came upon me suddenly and struck me.

has 'since taken a wife, and a living; and I doubt not that he has settled this question in the negative.'

My article, lying in the hands of the publishers, for the July number of the 'Christian Remembrancer,' I was persuaded, chiefly by E. Coleridge, that it would be better to publish it separately. I got it back from Burns, for that purpose. Consulting W. Palmer on these subjects, he mentioned Bossuet's 'Defensio' as being the most learned work. He lent it me; and I began to look over my article again, and to turn over Bossuet. To my astonishment, I found that he seemed to take the same view as I had done myself. Often he quoted the same passages, and he carried his argument into the third and fourth Councils. I kept on, as I was preparing my article for the press, adding matter to it, chiefly out of him, so that, in a very short time, on June 3, it increased to about double its first size. I thought my original view was thus confirmed by independent witnesses, and I published my little book in June, with the greatest possible confidence in its truth. Yet the whole time in which I had thought upon so complex and vast a subject, did not amount to six months, and I had only been occupied in writing it from March 19, with a considerable interval in which it had been laid aside in the publisher's hands, in its first form, until June 3.

From a number of letters received respecting this work, on the appearance of its first edition, which

was entitled, 'The Church of England cleared from the charge of Schism, upon testimonies of Councils and Fathers of the first six centuries,' I select three from laymen and three from ecclesiastics, the former being Mr. Gladstone, the late Mr. Justice Coleridge, and the late Mr. Baron Alderson; the latter the late Rev. C. Marriott, Dr. Moberly, now Bishop of Salisbury, and Archdeacon, now Cardinal, Manning; the last of whom, though he 'would otherwise lay up his letter as he would the old clothes of a dead man,' allows me to insert it, as a testimony of the time.

These letters are as follows:—

'13 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE: June 23, 1846.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I am very much your debtor for your kindness in sending me your interesting and remarkable work. I am sensible of the presumption which my saying more about it, or perhaps even my saying so much, may imply; yet at this period and on such a topic I must venture further.

'My life makes me well aware that there are large classes of people who will avail themselves largely of your liberal and dispassionate concessions with respect to the Roman primacy, not for the purpose (as they ought) of accrediting your conclusions against the supremacy, but in order to show how much the force of truth has extorted from you, and how little, as they will say, you have been able to withhold. This is the fine which every man must

expect to pay in every kind of controversy, if he will not bind his soul to any service except simply that of truth. But you and your work can afford to pay this fine. I at least cannot help being persuaded that you have contributed an important addition to the solid defences of the Church of England, defences that are, as I trust, to prove indestructible.

‘Your book has been one of a peculiar interest to me, because it has filled up for me trains of thought which had long lain as slight outlines in my own mind. I need not say that my knowledge of the Fathers is so small as to be almost null. But I have read, some time back, a considerable part of the works of Saint Augustine; and little as so important a result may be logically sustained by so narrow an induction, I have always felt the consequences to be very much in the nature of an antidote against the attractions of the present Roman Church; because the life of the Church then, represented as it is according to your observation in him and in his works, differs from the modern Papal system, not only in propositions but in its whole tone and atmosphere. Nor could I ever think this was the difference of age merely, or of the several stages of a legitimate development: the change seemed to be one which in the first place utterly baffled the Roman claim to identity; and in the second suggested the idea that if it were supposed tolerable, it was monstrous to suppose it imperative upon all.

‘Next you have filled up for me a crude idea in your discussion upon the Eastern Church. I think Newman’s “non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa,” his ignoring the Eastern Church, is one of the most singular phenomena, one of the boldest pieces of tactic, in the history of controversy. The weight of the considerations connected with the Eastern Church, in their bearing on the Roman and Anglican question, is not only great but surely it is a primary element in the whole case; and it is a marvel how little it has received its due from others than yourself. I heartily wish well to Mr. Palmer’s labours in making known by publications the doctrine and spirit of the Eastern Church.

‘The next observation I would venture to make is that in your reference to Bunsen I think you have put the case rather more than need be against the Church of England. From my knowledge of him, and the sentiments I used to have about his religious tendencies, I feel quite certain that he impressed the Archbishop and the Bishop of London with the belief that he was desirous, if possible, to bring his countrymen to a true and not to a sham episcopate. He certainly at that time used to hold up the Church of England (minus its practical abuses) as his great object of admiration, and as a model to be followed in the main. Whether he held that idea formally I do not know; but the general effect of his professions was to convey it. In his

“Kirche der Zukunft” on the contrary he propounds a *dilettante* episcopacy that the world never saw—nor I believe ever will see—he divides Churches into *Geistlichkeit-Kirchen* which are radically bad, and churches which assert the *Allgemeine Priesterthum* as the reverse—as darkness and light—he considers the Church of England as a mitigated specimen of the former class, while on the other hand he awards to it in detail the praise that it has maintained the morsel of truth that the Bishop is the centre of unity, as Presbyterianism and Independency respectively have maintained their fragments of distinctive truth too. On reading his book (which is much worse as to dogma, *i.e.* the dogmatic principle generally, than as to the episcopate) I wrote to him to say I perceived that he had quite changed his views of the Church of England since he brought in the Jerusalem Bishopric: to this he has never replied. I think it just to state thus much to you; for without at all presuming to say who is to blame, I consider that the Archbishop and the Bishop of London have been vilely used in this matter, and the Church of England through them.

‘There are more points that a book so interesting and substantial as yours suggests; but I have been too long already, and I must touch very lightly on such as I shall still name.

‘Do you do full justice to the Church of England in declaring her position to be “provisional”? The

word—which, however, is scarcely a word, to describe it—always seems to me to be abnormal; but what strikes me in your description is, that you seem to apply the idea to the Church of England only. But if the Church of England has been driven into an exceptional position, wholly or even only in part through the overwrought Papal Supremacy, are not both in an abnormal position? The term provisional, applies, I think, not so much to legitimate authority acting exceptionally, as to substitutes for legitimate authority.

‘The nature of your book did not require you to dwell on differences of doctrine between the Eastern and Roman Churches; but surely for practical purposes the difference with regard to purgatory is most important—not as it sounds in the mere skeleton of dogmatic definitions; but in that (as I apprehend) the Eastern idea of purgatory leaves absolutely no room for the introduction of that huge mass of abuses which in the practical Roman system adheres to that doctrine. For *practical* purposes it has always seemed to me that the purgatorial teaching of the Church of Rome—including, of course, the indulgences—is one of the two great obstacles to reunion (the other being the *cultus*, as Mr. Newman calls it). But it is a point of great importance, if it be true, that that peculiar teaching has no existence in the Eastern Church.

‘You will, perhaps, be surprised when I say, that experience, derived perhaps in part from my life in

Scotland, inclines me to take up the cudgels for "Protestantism." I mean by the term that system which lies outside the Church, and whose principle of judgment in proportion as it takes dogmatic form, becomes heretical. I am persuaded, from the suggestions afforded by its moral signs, that there is more in the questions relating to it than can be at once set aside by sweeping condemnation. The great contrast which Scotch Presbyterianism, particularly as represented in the Free Kirk, presents to the Continental Protestantism, with reference to the ruling spirit of each, presents to view a subject for much reflection. I do not pretend to anticipate its results further than to say that while they cannot impeach the positive principles of the Catholic system, on the other hand they seem to present marks far from corresponding with the simple character of heresy and schism. In point of fact, I suppose that the great sacrament of unity, as you say, is broken with respect to the visible Church, and that the largest fragment which pretends to be the whole is a grievous sufferer by it, though bound by her theory to deny it, and so with all the other fragments in their several measures, but that even the individualised portions of the Church are still partakers more than we know of its true virtue by their union with the head, and that the societies in which they have combined themselves draw from their members something of the character which they ought to be the means of conveying to them.

‘I see that some of my sentences end with a note of interrogation, but they are not meant as queries; they are rather used as affording a less dogmatical method of stating sentiments which I know to be too crude.

‘Believe me, my dear Sir,

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘REV. T. W. ALLIES.

‘You will be glad to hear that C. Wordsworth is to be Warden of Trinity College, N.B.’

‘June 21, 1846.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I do not know when I have been more pleased than by receiving your book, not merely because you gave it me (for which, however, I thank you very much) but because *you* had written it. I heard from Edward that you had come to the conclusion which your book announces, after a patient and honest inquiry; and I was very glad on your account, and my own, and that of many others. We who have not, it may be, heads, certainly not time, for such investigations for ourselves, must lean on others. And as I collect from what he said, and from cutting the leaves, your plan has been to go *through* the authorities, and to give such extracts, as by their length insure their faithfulness. I have long suspected quotations in controversial treatises—even good men under a strong bias so deceive themselves first, and others afterwards, that there is little

satisfaction in thus learning a question at second-hand. I congratulate you heartily on your resolution to inquire for yourself, and on the result.

‘And now your labours must be directed in another course. Your own position being secure, can you help to supply the things wanting in our own Church? Such a task would require not only wisdom and temper, but such a reputation for *soundness*, as should remove all supposition of a Papistical tendency. Even then no one man, I apprehend, must hope to *succeed*, but he might help on the desired result, which, if our Church is to stand, must some day, we may trust, be granted to us by God. I allude more particularly to such helps to devotion and holy living, as are in the scheme of the Roman Church, and not excluded by ours, but in fact not provided. I wish much to turn the attention of people to this, which *seems* to me more important than discipline, confession, &c., which have *two* sides for consideration, and would present more difficulties.

‘I have been an invalid and out of court since early in May, and am not to return till the circuit to work. A cough almost too long neglected the cause; and I cannot even now shake it off. I am going to try my own Ottery air on Tuesday till the circuit.

‘Best regards to Madame, and God bless the little ones!

‘Yours truly,

‘J. T. COLERIDGE.’

‘PARK CRESCENT: July 9, 1846.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have not had the grace to thank you for your book, but on my last day in town before the circuit—like one’s last day in life—it is time to make up my accounts, and to do, better late than never, something towards putting them straight. The truth is I have been very busy—having, in consequence of poor Tindal’s illness—now, alas! at an end by death—had to work up, *inter alia*, a long judgment in the House of Lords, which, naturally, would have fallen on him.

‘I approve of your book—all but some of your *attacks* on heterodox Bishops. Not that I differ with you there, but that my idea of true religious controversy is that it should not be *controversial* at all. I think that the way to confute error in such cases is simply to teach truth, and to take no notice at all of the teachers of the opposite error. Sure I am that we should gain much of charity, and I believe lose nothing of truth, by such a course. But I have in your case another motive, viz. a most hearty desire for your peace and prosperity. The rule, of course, does not apply to the opinions of those whose life and opinions are now matter of history. With all this let me add that in your main argument, neither in matter, nor manner, do I find any fault. I think you have made out your proposition and done an important service to the English Church—

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whether you will reap the proper fruits of it I know not—but if you add to your knowledge a conciliatory spirit towards the errors of the less wise, I believe you will improve your chance of that.

‘Believe me always, even when I take the liberty of my age with you—one ought, you know, to have some advantages from age—to remain,

‘Your faithful friend,

‘E. H. ALDERSON.’

‘ORIEL: June 22.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I must thank you for your little book before I read it through. I have begun it, and think it very likely to be useful, especially as transporting people out of the common atmosphere of modern controversy. Nothing is more necessary in some cases than to make people see that certain notions were not contemplated in ancient times.

‘I agree with you in not justifying Firmilian, but if he was a good Catholic, a good many other people may have been so, in spite of their having rather bold tongues.

‘I see Gobat has given satisfaction, and it must satisfy us. We have done our part, and a slight profession in the direction of orthodoxy has been exacted, and that is all we could expect. It is poor work, but such work as men are apt to do.

‘FRESHWATER: June 27, 1846.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have read a good bit of your book, and like it. Moberly thinks you are too

candid, and sometimes allow a thing first and then a few pages on disprove it.

‘TENBY: July 9.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,--I have nearly finished your book. Your case is stronger and clearer than I expected. But how is the “Western pride” to come down? That is not our business.

‘Yours ever most sincerely,

‘C. MARRIOTT.

‘1846.’

‘MY DEAR SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you for your kindness in sending me your recently published volume, of which I have read above sixty pages with the utmost satisfaction. And most truly happy and thankful I am to feel that you have come to so clear and strong a conviction of the soundness of the Anglican doctrine as to the sovereignty and single episcopate of the Bishop of Rome. I feel extreme interest in your volume, as having recently been occupied with some small portion of the same subjects myself.

‘Will you allow me to venture a slight remark or two on the portion which I have read?

‘In p. 8 I marked with a pencil the phrase, “*since she became divided from Catholic Communion.*” I was pleased to see what looks like a withdrawal of it in p. 13. “The charge of schism against the Church of England is that, by it, *she lost the blessing of Catholic Communion.*”

‘In p. 20 you speak with much more respect than appears to me to be deserved of Mr. Newman’s “body of proof.” I would refer to pp. 28, 31, and 45, 46, 47, for passages which seem to me to do away with all weight whatever in Mr. N.’s 11th, 13th, 15th, and 16th instances. You dispose of the 3rd on the spot. The 8th and 14th fall to the ground by the obvious and acknowledged inefficiency of the sentences pronounced by the two Popes. The 2nd, founded *solely* on the use of the phrase *προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*, appears to me to be inherently without weight: for the verb is used of other sees (v. Pearson’s note) and the passage itself limits it to the place of the country of the Romans.

‘As to the passage of St. Irenæus, just see what St. Basil says of St. Athanasius in his 66th, 69th, and other Epistles, calling him *προστάτης—κορυφή τῶν ὅλων*, &c., and how it is said of the Church of Jerusalem, “*cui tantum omnes favorem impendunt, ut nemo audeat ab eâ sese discernere.*” “Ep. Imp. Justini ad Papam Hormisdam.” (Bp. Pearson.)

‘As to the references to Rome, doubtless there were and would be many; but so there were to Constantinople, to Carthage, &c. On the whole, it seems to me that the sentence with which you finish p. 12 and begin p. 13 can hardly apply with stronger force to M. de Maistre, than to that passage of poor J. H. N.

‘Do you feel sure about your little parenthesis (i.e. the Pope) in p. 43?

‘I feel rather ashamed of writing thus when I have read little more than a quarter of your volume, but I feel so anxious to thank you for your kindness in sending it to me, and so sure that you will equally kindly receive my note, that I will not hesitate.

‘Believe me, my dear Sir,

‘Yours most faithfully,

‘GEORGE MOBERLY.

‘WINCHESTER COLLEGE:

‘June 22, 1846.’

‘LAVINGTON, PETWORTH: August 4, 1846.

‘MY DEAR SIR,—When I was in London last June, I received the copy of your book which you were so kind as to send me. I did not write to thank you for it, because I wished first to read it. My visitations took up all my time till the latter end of July; so that I have only just read your essay through. Let me first thank you for it as a present, and then say what I can about the matter of it. I will give, in as few words as I can, the substance of the letters I told you I had written on the same point, to a person who was shaken about it.

‘1. Whatever St. Peter was among the Apostles, the Church of Rome may be (waiving all questions) among Churches.

‘2. St. Peter had a Primacy.

1. Partly personal, on account of age, zeal, &c., as the Fathers say.

2. Partly official.

1. He *first* received the keys.
2. He *first* used them.—Acts ii.
3. He *first* received Gentiles.—Cornelius.

‘3. But all the Apostles received the keys afterwards ;

And are expressly called equals (see SS. Cyprian and Ambrose and)

Therefore *Primacy* does not carry *jurisdiction*.

‘This was as far as I needed to go : my object being to show that the Pope had no jurisdiction over the English Church, like in kind to the jurisdiction of a Diocesan Bishop, or a Primate over his provincials.

‘This clears us of a schismatical subtraction of obedience.

‘I inclose a copy of one letter which I have got written out, and should be glad to have it at your convenience again.

‘It will show, I think, that we have come substantially (so far) to the same conclusion. I say so far because your book is more comprehensive. The point in it I should like to know your further thoughts upon is how you distinguish between Bossuet’s view of the Roman Primacy and your own.

1. Does he hold that jurisdiction inheres in the Primacy, or,
2. Does he hold that the Canonical Supremacy

or jurisdiction by Canons is so engrafted into the Primacy and united by affinity of nature as to be inseparable?

‘In either view we should have subtracted obedience, according to his judgment. The sixth Canon of the first Council of Nice is to me the strongest anti-Roman fact.

‘Also Giesler has a good deal of matter in his notes of which I do not know how the Roman Catholic would dispose.

‘Let me thank you for this book as the most candid, and therefore the most satisfactory, we have had on either side of late. I read it with great interest, especially the ending, and with extensive agreement as to our dangers. I hope that your able and earnest reclamations will be heard, and heeded.

‘Believe me, my dear Sir,

‘Yours very truly,

‘H. E. MANNING.’

But though the first edition left me thus, in June 1846, I did not cease to inquire and note down on the subject; and may be said to have been wholly occupied with it, both by reading, and by conversation with Catholics abroad, till February 1848, when a second edition came out, exhibiting the same view, but at treble the length.

The late Mr. Justice Coleridge sent me the following letter upon its appearance:—

26 PARK CRESCENT.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Evening after evening comes, and I reproach myself for not having written to thank you for your great kindness in sending me your new edition. My delay is not to be attributed to my holding the gift, or the kindness, cheap—very far from it, I assure you—but I have been *very* busy, not very well, and had much anxiety from sickness in my home. Then, I did not like to write a mere formal note. I was very glad to see the slender volume had grown stout, and I read the preface at once with much interest and satisfaction. Mr. Thomson I never have seen, but assuming, which in your case I will venture to do, that the extracts represent him fairly, you have certainly *answered* him. It will not be long before I set to at the volume, and perhaps I may be able to give you a better account of the second edition than I could of the first. Before I have done with the book, let me say, at last, how thoroughly I rejoice, for your own sake and my own, that neither the answers of your opponents, nor your interviews with ecclesiastics abroad, nor more laborious inquiries, have had the effect of shaking, in the main, your confidence in the strength of your position. I say “on my own account,”—for if I had the ability to master the question between the two Churches, I have not the time, and therefore I must perforce, to a great extent, lean on others;

and it is a cogent *fact* with me, that you have gone through the inquiry, on a point—to say the least of it—most material, with a bias anything but favourable to England, and arrived at so clear a conclusion against the claims of Rome. I assure you, I think our Church owes you much. There will be circumstances operating at present which may prevent that from being felt as it ought to be—at least as generally—and in the higher quarters. But let not that discourage you from persevering in the same useful course. You seem to me to have found your “work”—that which you have to do—the sort of thing, you will remember which, long since, I wished to see you devoted to. The circumstances I before alluded to must continue to give this “work” more and more importance in our days—or I should say, rather, your days—and the controversialist with Rome, who is not a mere pamphleteer, but discusses matters of weight soberly, and with industrious research, must earn a permanent name and weight.

‘Has your attention been turned to the opposite point of the compass—the Germanising spirit which seems to be invading our theology? Are you a German scholar? It may seem presumptuous in one so ignorant as I am to entertain a strong opinion on a subject confessedly so difficult. But I own I have a strong suspicion that all this boasted discovery of a new principle of interpretation—which, if true, makes the belief of millions of souls and centuries of years

mere gross superstition—which, moreover, makes the plainest narratives become mere grounds for ingenious *translation*, if I may so say—will turn out, by and by, to be but shallow sophistry. I think there is a fair presumption against *discoveries* of this sort: it is difficult to believe either that we have been all wrong on such points for so many centuries—and those commencing at the fountain-head—or that the real truth can have been other than such a necessity for the human race that even when brought to light in the nineteenth century it should be so difficult as to be practically no truth for nine-tenths of mankind. For, observe, it is not conversant merely with the hard and speculative apices of theology, but it meets us in every page of the Gospels. What is this I am reading—the narrative of a fact, or an allegory, or some such thing?—and how am I to distinguish? These are questions which the German student must ask himself every hour.

‘I want to see not merely an ingenious, but a broad and massive, yet clear-sighted intellect to deal with this school.

‘Have you read Stanley’s sermons? I have not, yet. Henry described it as painful to read them, on account of the irreverence. But I mean to read them, that I may know a little more of what I have been thus abusing.

‘How is Basil? What has he grown to? I have a fancy for sending him the “Christian Year,” and

the "Lyra"—not that he will read them yet, nor could understand or enjoy them; but I should like him to have them from me. I hope I shall one day see him, and that he will know me.

‘Yours very truly,
‘J. T. COLERIDGE.’

February 22, 1848.

Of this period I write, March 3, 1849, thus: ‘February 12, 1846, to February 12, 1848: thirty-third to thirty-fifth birthday. Study of the Roman controversy: incessant agitation of feelings. After forming my own view entirely from passages of the Fathers, great was my astonishment to find how Bossuet,¹ and, as I discovered afterwards, the whole Gallican School, went upon the same line. It was one of the strongest confirmations I ever experienced. But no sooner was this little treatise finished, than I found fresh and fresh proofs continually occurring; so that from June 1846, to October 1847, I was constantly engaged in reading, extracting, arranging, and adding. Then the book was passing through the press, till February 9, 1848, when it came out six times the bulk of the original article, and thrice that of the first edition.’

I may say that all my studies during those two years, were directed, more or less, towards this one

¹ Archdeacon Manning once said wittily that I had got hold of Bossuet by the tail.

subject; but the states of feeling through which it led me are very curious. I began, fresh from J. H. N.'s book, with almost the conviction that the question of the Supremacy would lead me to Rome; that it was, in short, the most favourable point to the Papacy, as well as, what I still believe it, the *key* to the whole. In April 16, 1846, I say, 'I have certainly satisfied my own mind on the point of *schism*.' And I may say that down to the end of my book, and to this moment, the conviction that my view is the simple historical fact is as strong as it well can be. But as I went on, a sense of the hollowness and sham of the present Anglican communion—of its timid, indefinite, truckling statements of doctrine; of its base subserviency to the civil power; of the dangerous conclusions as to the very being of the Church Catholic to which one's historical inquiries seemed to lead—a sense, in short, of living in an atmosphere thoroughly alien to one's feelings and convictions—became almost overpowering. I said to myself, this is indeed the true ground of the English Church—but has she ever taken it? ¹ Has she not really been throughout her course a very different system; something, in very

¹ I remember once walking with Wall, an acute and practised intellect, in Oxford, when, referring to my book, he said, 'Yes, this is your view, but how many of our authorities accept it?' I walked away feeling that the ground was cut from under me, yet certain that there was none other to take. Wall was the leader of the attempt to oust Symonds in 1844.

deed, as unlike the ancient Church, which she professes to reverence, as any system can well be which has in some respect, the same outward organisation. The *ἡθός* in short, of the Anglican communion was stifling me; while, with all my belief of a great flaw in the authority claimed for the Roman Pontiff, there was a deep sense of the grandeur of the Papal system and Church; and, above all, there was this grand difficulty: 'If *they* are right, there *is* a Catholic Church still upon earth; but, if *we* are right, it would seem that this Church is mere matter of history: if not extinct, it is suspended now, and has been, for hundreds of years.'

There is reason to think that this conclusion has forced itself upon minds which are still in the Anglican Communion. A lady was urged by her friends to consult a prominent Anglican 'director,' that he might solve her doubts about the Church. In answer to her inquiries he told her to regard the Church as she would our Lord's Body in the sepulchre. I conceive his meaning to be that the Church resembled that Body in that it once had life, and would have life again. But at present, what was it? I leave him to say. Can such doctrine comfort any anxious conscience? I suppose our Lord's Body in the sepulchre is indeed a very fitting image of the *highest* Anglican doctrine about the actual Church. But how is a dead body the pillar and ground of the truth? Or is truth in the tomb at present, but destined to

rise? And I suppose that until it rises everybody may handle it as he pleases. Perhaps Dr. Liddon will preach on the subject.

Now to finish with my *studies* in this period, up to February 1848. I find the chief reading for my book, 'The Fathers, Councils, Bossuet's "Defensio," Fleury, Orsi, Moehler "On Unity," Gieseler, Döllinger, De Marca, Thomassin, De Maistre's "Du Pape," Tillemont.' And here I fell unintentionally into an unfairness, which was the means of blinding my eyes. Pursuing through these, who were (chiefly) Gallicans, all those points in which they sought to *limit* the Papal prerogative, I did not reflect that every one of them held that communion with the Pope was essential to Church membership; but what was worse, I never read any *systematic* exposition of the case on the other side, such as Ballerini, or Orsi, or Bolgeni give. Thus I was lost in an endless search for *facts* without having any grasp of the *principles* required for interpreting those facts, and giving them their due value. Indeed, as long as the single elementary distinction between powers of order and of jurisdiction lay *in confuso* in my mind, it was impossible but that the facts of history would appear to me involved in an inextricable skein. Thompson and Ward both put their finger on my blundering, yet I did not see it till long afterwards. And I was specially deceived on the article of my own fairness, by the fact that I honestly searched Fathers and Councils,

not being aware that a certain amount of *scientific* knowledge was previously necessary in order to get the truth even from these. In short, I had come to a new subject, vast from its complexity, with that loose congeries of opinions which settle into an Anglican mind nobody can describe *whence* or *how*, destitute of all organism or coherence; not the least disadvantage of which state of mind is its ignorance of itself, from absence of the habit of logical analysis, so that while it may be engaged in perpetual study, and pass under review a vast quantity of facts, by which it thinks that it is contemplating the object of inquiry, not being *νοητικὸς ἀρχῶν* it is 'ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth.' I suppose Dr. Pusey has such a mind in perfection; but indeed all Protestants seem to have it in various degrees in their treatment of the Bible. And so it happened that, with perfect good faith, and the most eager desire of the truth, and prayer for it day by day, I produced a book full of logical contradictions, with concessions which destroyed my defence, and accusations which made my concessions monstrous, acknowledging the Roman Primacy as of divine institution, yet seeking an excuse for refusing obedience to it in the amount of its authority having grown, while throughout the whole book I never define the nature or amount of that authority as originally bestowed and intended by its Author.

But while the *intellect* was thus unfortunate, the

moral being was not standing still. It is to be remarked that while the conclusions of my reading had raised an unexpected difficulty in my way to Rome, I had never, from 1845 to 1850, even a temporary pause in the course of feeling and sympathy, in the sense of alienation from Anglicanism and disgust with its authorities, and in the drawing to Catholicism which the various sights I had of it fostered. Thus I note: 'Often in these two years I have been greatly oppressed and tried' (February 1846 to February 1848), see, e.g., the entry of visit to Manning, June 15, 1847. I continue:—

'June 15, 1847.—Called on Archdeacon Manning, who has been very ill, and is going abroad for a year. Had nearly an hour's talk with him. He asked with much interest about the second edition of my book, and I described the whole plan of it. He has evidently thought with great care and accuracy on the subject. Said the popular effect of it would be destroyed, if the Primacy were allowed to be *divine*; for that no abuse would counterbalance the weight of that fact; as, if we were obliged to receive baptism with salt and spittle, it would not authorise the rejection of it. Recommended article in "Dublin Review" of December 1844, on "Supremacy before Separation," as being more *truthful* than was usual with them, and one of their best things.

'With regard to troubles of mind, his answer was, the way in which the mind is acted on by its

subjective state. Sin in ourselves will quite unconsciously distort our view. He had become more and more convinced of this from his own experience. We often seem to ourselves quite impartial, yet are acted upon by the very influence from which we suppose ourselves free. God's voice is to be waited for *thrice*, as in Samuel's case. If there be really a mind saying, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," there can be no resisting of conscience. He had himself in the last few months considered, more than ever before, the probability that he might soon have to render his account; and though very anxious about *what* he was, had felt no anxiety as to *where* he was. There is an extreme calmness, gentleness, and considerateness both in the manner and matter of his speaking, which leaves a strong impression. How can one fail to be touched by one who seems to have death full in view, and to have, as it were, measured its depths, as well as the relations and distances of spiritual things? He thought my third call had not yet been given. I was much struck, and told him so, at his using the very same reference to Samuel which J. H. N. had used on a like occasion to me. It seemed to touch him greatly. Recommended Adam's "Private Thoughts on Religion," and to write to him what I thought of them.'

If when the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times' began first to talk about Apostolical Succession, the divine rights of the Episcopate, Baptismal Regenera-

tion, and the Church system, they had been met with the remark, 'Sin in ourselves will quite unconsciously distort our view,' 'We often seem to ourselves quite impartial, yet are acted upon by the very influences from which we suppose ourselves free,' they would have thought the observation at once nothing to the point and very impertinent. Yet it was when we pursued these very same principles into their most necessary results, that we were told by our elders of the *morbid* state of our minds, and the whole matter was attempted to be shifted from the objective to a subjective point of view. This, in one word, may be considered the sum and substance of all Dr. Pusey's replies to difficulties, out of whose book Manning here stole a leaf. And the whole party are the same: this is the only answer to objections on *principles* which they can be brought to give. As to looking them in the face, they won't do it.

I continue: 'I have had constantly before my mind the possibility of a great sacrifice impending. I hope the spiritual life has been deepening. Great dissatisfaction with the impossibility of carrying out any real discipline in my parish, or rather of getting at the consciences of my people at all, has long made all pastoral duties irksome to me. Preaching to this people has long been a great trial: it is to me like preaching at a stone wall. We are to be led "up through this thwarting outward world to God."'

'*March 3, 1849.*—Pusey's guidance was a poor

substitute for Newman's. I found he did not touch the wound which festered. "He does not seem to see the Church of England as she is, but through such an atmosphere of filial love as disguises or sublimates her features."'

Among outward things which had a certain effect on me are two visits to the Continent in 1846 and 1847. The results of the first were not great. 'From August 10 to August 24, 1846, I was travelling in Belgium and on the Rhine with the Rev. E. Coleridge, Mr. (now Bishop) Abraham, and Mr. Butterfield. Had I a companion I would have gone on to Paris or Switzerland. We saw but the outside, and though it served as a diversion, and was very pleasant from companionship, it had no deeper interest like the visit of 1845.'

It was very different with the visit of 1847.

June 29, 1847.—I started for Paris and North Italy with Pollen and Wynne; returned August 25. A most delightful and inspiring excursion. At Paris we saw something of the inside—less in Italy, save the Tyrolese visit: but the sight of Paris, Lyons, Avignon, the Rhone, Genoa, Milan, Venice, the Alps, Lucerne, the Righi, was an intense pleasure. Of my eight letters two were lost; the other six were printed in the journal just published. I took greater part than ever before in the services, and as much as I could sought to penetrate into the real state of things. My fellow-travellers and I harmonised well, and they

have become most valuable friends. I regret I did not keep a slight journal besides, but descriptions of topography and buildings are so dull. Not shaken by this tour as by that of 1845.'

In both these tours I was defended by my researches on the Primacy, a sort of coat of mail which I wrapped round me. Padre Giordano attacked us keenly at Genoa, and we had some conversations at Paris, but otherwise, saving always the visit to the Addolorata and Estatica, there was nothing seen but the outward aspect of places. However, this journey was always a fountain of delight to me in memory. It added largely to the vivid interest which I took in the state of Catholicism abroad. The sight of the Tyrolese virgins must not go for nothing. The refusal of the 'Guardian' to insert the account of our visit to them must also be mentioned.

The letter which the 'Guardian' refused to insert is as follows:—

*Account of a Visit to the Addolorata and Estatica,
in the Tyrol.*

TRENT: August 1, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE,—Since I last wrote to you, I have seen two sights more remarkable than any that ever fell under my own observation before, and than any that are likely to fall again. I mean to give you as short an account of them as will convey a real notion of them.

Maria Domenica Lazzari, daughter of a poor miller now dead, lives in the wild Alpine village of Capriana, in the Italian Tyrol, which we had a walk of four hours through the mountains to reach. She was born March 16, 1815, and up to the year 1833 lived the ordinary life of a peasant, blameless and religious, but in no respect otherwise remarkable. In August 1833, she had an illness, not in the first instance of an extraordinary nature; but it took the form of an intermittent fever, confining her completely to her bed, and finally contracting the nerves of her hands and feet, so as to cripple them. On January 10, 1834, she received on her hands, feet, and left side, the marks of our Lord's five wounds; the first appearance of these was a gradual reddening of the various points beneath the skin; this was strongly marked on a Thursday, and on the following day the wounds were open, blood flowed, and since that time they have never undergone any material change. Three weeks afterwards her family found her in the morning with a handkerchief covering her face, in a state of great delight, a sort of trance; on removing the handkerchief, letters were found on it marked in blood, and Domenica's brow had a complete impression of the Crown of Thorns, in a line of small punctures, about a quarter of an inch apart, from which the blood was flowing freshly. They asked her who had torn her so (*chi l'aveva così pettinata?*) she replied, 'A very fair lady had come

in the night and adorned her.' On April 10, 1834, she took a little water with a morsel of bread steeped in it; from that day to this she has taken no nourishment whatever, save the Holy Sacrament, which she receives weekly once or twice, in the smallest possible quantity. Some years ago, when the priest had given her the Host, sudden convulsions came on, and she was unable to swallow It; the priest tried repeatedly to withdraw It, but in vain, the convulsions returning as often as he attempted it, and so It remained forty days, when It was at last removed untouched. We were assured of this by the Prince-Bishop of Trent. From the time that she first received the stigmata, in January 1834, to the present time, the wounds have bled every Friday with a loss of from one to two ounces of blood, beginning early in the morning, and on Friday only; the quantity of blood which now flows is less than it used to be. The above information we received chiefly from Signor Yoris, a surgeon of Cavalese, the chief village of the district in which Capriana lies. We carried him a letter from Signor S. Stampa, son-in-law of Manzoni, whom we met at Milan last Sunday, and who had just returned from a visit to Domenica, exactly a week before our own. He appeared quite overwhelmed at what he had seen, and gave us an exact account, which our own eyes subsequently verified. We reached Cavalese from Neumarkt on Thursday, having taken especial care

so to time our visit that we might see Domenica first on Thursday evening and then on Friday morning, so as to be able to observe that marvellous flow of blood which is said to take place on Friday. Signor Yoris most obligingly offered to accompany us; accordingly we left Cavalese shortly after one o'clock on Thursday, and reached Capriana by a wild road through a mountainous valley, in four hours. As we got near the place Signor Yoris said, 'I will tell you a curious instance of Domenica's acuteness of hearing. My wife and I were going once to visit her; when we were eighty or a hundred yards from her house, I whispered to my wife to go quietly, that we might take her by surprise. We did so accordingly, but much to our astonishment she received us with a smile, saying that she had not been taken by surprise, and alluding to the very words I had used.' He showed us the spot where this had occurred, and it was certainly an acuteness of sense far beyond anything I can conceive possible. We went straight to Domenica's cottage, and knocked at the door. Her sister was out, but in a few minutes she came from a cottage a little below, and let us in. At the inner end of a low room near the wall, in a bed hardly larger than a crib, Domenica lay crouched up, the hands closely clasped over the breast, the head a little raised, the legs gathered up nearly under her, in a way the bed-clothes did not allow us to see. About three-quarters of an inch

under the roots of the hair a straight line is drawn all round the forehead, dotted with small punctures a quarter of an inch apart; above this the flesh is of the natural colour, perfectly clear and free from blood; below the face is covered down to the bottom of the nose, and the cheeks to the same extent, with a dry crust or mask of blood. Her breast heaved with a sort of convulsion, and her teeth chattered. On the outside of both hands, as they lie clasped together, in a line with the second finger, about an inch from the knuckle, is a hard scar, of dark colour, rising above the flesh, half an inch in length, by about three-eighths of an inch in width; round these the skin is slightly reddened, but quite free from blood. From the position of the hands it is not possible to see well inside, but stooping down on the right of her bed I could almost see an incision answering to the outward one, and apparently deeper. I leant over her head, within a foot of the Corona on the forehead, and closely observed the wounds. She looked at us very fixedly, but hardly spoke. We heard her only cry 'Dio mio' several times when her pains were bad. She seemed to enter into Signor Yoris's conversation, smiled repeatedly, and bent her head. But it was an effort to her to attend, and at times the eyes closed and she became insensible. By far the most striking point in her appearance this evening was that dry mask of blood descending so regularly from the punctured line round the fore-

head; for it must be remarked that the blood has flowed in a straight line all down the face, as if she were erect, not as it would naturally flow from the position in which she was lying, that is, off the middle to the sides of the face. And what is strangest of all, there is a space all round the face, from the forehead down to the jaw, by the ears, quite free from blood, and of the natural colour: which is just that part to which the blood, as she lies, ought most to run. After about three-quarters of an hour we took leave, intending to return the first thing in the morning. Don Michele Santuari, the parish priest, on whom we called, was out; he returned our visit for a minute or two, very early the next morning, but was going to his brother's again.

Friday evening, July 30.

When we visited Domenica at half-past five this morning, the change was very remarkable. The hard scars on the outside of her hands had sunk to the level of the flesh, and become raw and fresh running wounds, but without indentation, from which there was a streak of blood running a finger's length, *not* perpendicularly, but down the middle of the wrist. The wound inside the left hand seemed on the contrary deep and furrowed, much blood had flowed, and the hand seemed mangled; the wound of the right hand inside could not be seen. The punctures round the forehead had been bleeding, and

were open, so that the mask of blood was thicker, and very terrible to look at. The darkest place of all was the tip of the nose, a spot, which, as she was lying, the blood in its natural course could not reach at all. It must be observed again, that the blood flows as it would flow if she were suspended, and not recumbent. The sight is so fearful that a person of weak nerves would very probably be overcome by it; indeed, Signor Stampa and his servant were both obliged to leave the room. While we were there, Domenica's sister, who lives alone with her, stood at the head of her crib with her hands under her head, occasionally raising her. We fanned her alternately with a large feathered fan, which alone seemed to relieve her; for she is in a continual fever, and her window remains open day and night, summer and winter, in the severest cold. She seemed better this morning, and more able to speak, and at intervals did speak several times. I asked her to pray for us, she replied, 'Questo farò ben volentieri.' I said, 'Prega che l'Inghilterra sia tutta Cattolica, che non ci sia che una religione, perchè adesso ci sono molte.' She replied, I believe, in the very words of the Catechism, 'Sì; non vi è che una sola religione Cattolica Romana; fuori di questa non si deve aver speranza.' She observed, that other English had asked the same thing of her. She has light and sparkling grey eyes, which she fixed repeatedly on us, looking at us severally with great interest. We

told her that the Bishop of Trent had requested us to call on him, and give him a report of her; and asked her if she had anything to say. She replied, 'Tell him that I desire his benediction, and that I resign myself in everything to the will of God and that of the Bishop. Ask him to intercede for me with the Bishop of all.' I said, 'Più si patisce qui, più si gode dopo.' She replied, 'Si: si deve sperarlo.' Before we left, Wynne repeated, 'You will pray for us;' she bowed her head; 'and for all England;' she replied, 'Quanto io posso.' After nearly an hour's stay we took leave, hoping that we might all meet in Paradise. There is an altar in her room, at which Mass is celebrated once a week, and many small pictures of saints. Everything betokens the greatest poverty.

It is most hard to realise such a life as Domenica's continued during thirteen years. The impression left on my mind as to her state is that of one who suffers with the utmost resignation a wonderful and inexplicable disease, on which the tokens of our Saviour's Passion are miraculously and most awfully impressed.

The points in her case which are beyond and contrary to nature are these:—

1st. For thirteen years she had neither eaten nor drunken, except that very small portion of the Host which she receives once or twice weekly.

2nd. On the hands and feet, inside and outside,

she bears the wounds of our Lord ; both sides run with blood ; whether the wounds go through is not known ; and on the left side is a wound which runs also.

3rd. She has on the brow, as I saw and have described, and I believe all round the head, the mark of the crown of thorns, a series of punctures, and a red line as if of something pressing on the head.

4th. All these wounds run with blood at present, and during thirteen years have done the like, regularly, and at an early hour on Friday, and on that day alone.

Combining the first and fourth fact, we get a phenomenon which sets at utter defiance all physical science, and which seems to me a direct exertion of Almighty power, and of that alone. ‘Medical men,’ said Signor Yoris, ‘have been in abundance to see her, and have studied her case ; but no one has furnished the least solution of it.’ He assured me he had seen the wounds on her feet a hundred times, and that the blood flowed upwards towards the toes, as we saw it did on the nose. Since for the last two years she has been contracted and drawn up by her disease the feet cannot be seen. She has refused to allow any man to see the wound on the side, as it did not require to be medically treated ; but offered that any number of women, of her own village, or the wives of medical men, might see it. She is a

good deal emaciated, but not so much as I have seen in other cases. Nothing can be more simple and natural than her manner and that of her sister. Their cottage is open at all times. Domenica may be closely seen, all but touched and handled. Indeed, around that couch one treads instinctively with reverence; the image of the Woe surpassing all woes is too plainly marked, for the truth of what one sees not to sink indelibly on the mind. No eye-witness, I will venture to say, will ever receive the notion of anything like deceit.

We returned to Neumarkt on Friday, and on Saturday morning, July 31, walked nine miles to Caldaro, to see the other great wonder of the Tyrol, Maria Mörl, called the Estatica. On arriving, we presented the Bishop of Trent's letter to the dean, and in about an hour, were conducted to the Franciscan convent; from this one of the friars conducted us to the monastery, within the enclosure of which, but only as a lodger, Maria Mörl has withdrawn. The main points in her history are these. She was born in October 1812; she lived from her earliest years a life of great piety; about the age of eighteen, in the year 1830, she suffered violent attacks of sickness, in which medical aid seemed to be of no service. At this time she began, after receiving the Holy Communion, to fall into trances, which were at first of short duration, and scarcely remarked by her family. On the Feast of the Purification, 1832,

however, she fell after communicating into an ecstasy lasting twenty-six hours, and was only recalled by the order of her confessor. In June 1832, the state of ecstasy returned every day: in August of the year 1833 it became habitual. Her ordinary and habitual position is kneeling on her bed, with her hands joined under the chin, her eyes wide open, and intently fixed on some object; in which state she takes no notice of any one present, and can only be recalled by her confessor charging her on her vow of obedience.

But I may now as well describe what we saw. In a few minutes the friar had taken us to the garden door of the monastery; we entered a passage, where he left us for a short time, and returning, told us to open a door which led into a bedroom; I opened another door, and found myself, before I expected, in the presence of the most unearthly vision I ever beheld. In a corner of a sufficiently large room, in which the full light of day was tempered down by the blinds being closed, Maria Mörl was on her knees on her bed. Dressed entirely in white, her dark hair came down on both sides to her waist; her eyes were fixed intently upwards, her hands joined in adoration and pressing her chin. She took not the slightest notice of our entrance, nor seemed to be aware of our presence at all; her position was considerably thrown forward, and leaning on one side; one in which, on a soft bed especially,

it must have been very difficult, if possible, to remain a minute. We gazed at her intently the whole time we were allowed to remain—about six minutes. I could see a slight trembling of the eye, and heaving of the frame, and heard one or two throbs, but otherwise it would have seemed a statue, rather than anything living. Her expression was extremely beautiful and full of devotion. Long before we were content to go, the friar intimated his impatience. I asked him to cause her to pass out of her ecstasy, and recline on the bed. He went near to her and spoke a few words in a very low tone; upon which, after a slight pause, she slid, in an indescribable manner, down from her kneeling position, her hands remaining closed together, and her eyes wide open, and her knees bent under her, how I cannot imagine.

She is said to spring up again into her former position, as often as her state of ecstasy comes upon her, without disjoining her hands; and this we should have liked to see, but the friar was urgent that we should leave, and we accordingly obeyed. The sleeves she wore round her wrists prevented our being able to see whether the stigmata were visible, which she bears on her hands and on her feet. The Bishop of Trent afterwards told me we should have asked the confessor to order her to show us the former. These were first observed in 1834. Now, though what we saw bears out the accounts given of the *Estatica* so far as it went, yet I must admit that we did not

leave her with that full satisfaction we had felt in the case of the Addolorata. Maria Mörl's state in its very nature does not admit the bystander to such perfect proof as that of Domenica Lazzari. Had we remained half an hour or an hour instead of six minutes, it must still have been a matter of faith to us how long these ecstasies continue, and how often they recur. None but those who live daily with her can be aware of all her case. I can only say that what we saw was very strange and very striking, and when the Bishop of Trent informs us, as he did, a few hours ago, that these trances continue four or five hours together, I must entirely believe it. *He* had seen the stigmata on her hands, and she had rendered him, as her superior, the same obedience which she gives to her confessor. If I may venture to draw any conclusion from what I have seen, it is, that it appears to be a design of God, by means of these two young persons, to impress on an age of especial scepticism and unbelief in spiritual agency such tokens of our Lord's Passion as no candid observer can fail to recognise. Neither of these cases can be brought under the ordinary laws of nature; both seem to bear witness in a different, but perhaps equally wonderful manner, to the glory of God as reflected from the Passion of His Son on the members of His Body.

Ever yours,

T. W. ALLIES.

P.S.—Maria Domenica Lazzari died about Easter, 1848, aged thirty-three years.

But, just before I started on this journey, and before the visit to Archdeacon Manning, I had had an encounter with my own Bishop, which strongly agitated my feelings, and had a considerable effect in determining my judgment of the Anglican communion; indeed, it was enough, alone and by itself, to settle the question of its orthodoxy. In the year 1844, certain statements had been published in the papers, which, among other propositions, included the following: ‘Ungodly persons have neither been born again of the Spirit, nor justified, although they were baptized in infancy, but remain in an unpardoned state, exposed to the wrath of God; and unless they be born again of the Spirit, and obtain saving faith in Christ, they must perish.’ And, ‘There is no Scriptural authority for affirming that our Lord is present with His people at the Lord’s Supper in any other manner than that in which He is present with them whenever they meet together in His name (Matt. xviii. 20); and His Body and Blood are verily and indeed taken and received by them at that ordinance by faith, just as they are verily and indeed taken and received by them whenever they exercise faith in His atoning sacrifice; so that the imagination of any bodily presence, or of any other presence effected by the consecration of the elements, is unscriptural and erroneous.’

Among about two hundred signatures to these, of which about two-thirds were clergy, occurred the

name of my neighbour, the Rev. Mr. Watts, Incumbent of Bicester. I determined, at a ruri-decanal meeting, lately established by the Bishop, to denounce these propositions as heretical; and, as this produced no effect, I forwarded my denunciation to the Bishop. Of course, I got snubbed for my pains, as the Bishop would as readily have laid hold of a red-hot poker with his fingers, as meddle with the party of which these propositions were the symbols. I answered him somewhat intemperately, contrasting his indifference in this case, when the Sacraments were utterly overthrown, with the attention he had paid to a dissenting minister, who, a year before, had impugned me before him, for refusing to marry a Wesleyan. This produced as angry a rejoinder, accusing me of not being far from the condition of one who was taken 'in the snare of the devil.' After a month, I wrote a third letter, tolerably strong, in which I drew the conclusion, from his conduct, that the Sacraments might be indifferently held or denied, in his diocese; which produced from him a reply, again imputing my conduct to a 'judging, self-assuming spirit,' which was endangering my soul. The Bishop, with perfect tact, avoided the subject on which I had written to him, under cover of the intemperance of my zeal. Nothing, of course, came of my attempt to bring the matter to an issue. The two ministers of adjoining parishes, Bicester and Launton, went on preaching contradictory doctrine

such as they had done before, and just as is done all over England now, in 1880, as then, in 1847. The result of such an encounter could only be to lower the Bishop, personally, in my eyes, and to make me feel that heresy was at least as much favoured as orthodoxy, in Anglicanism. I remember showing these propositions to my friend l'Abbé Labbé, who told me that a priest holding them would be instantly suspended by his bishop. A year afterwards, through Dr. Pusey, a sort of reconciliation was brought about, between the Bishop and myself; but this passage between us remained in my mind as a curious contrast with the course pursued as to so-called Romanising doctrines, in my own instance, two years later; nor can my own defence, in 1849, be understood without reference to this affair in 1847. What an unspeakable sham was such a communion!

Thus, then, the task which I had set myself, after reading Newman's 'Theory of Development,' of reaching the truth as to the claims of the Catholic Church, by studying the question of the Primacy, had come to an end by the publication of my second edition, in February 1848, without effecting the purpose which I had marked out for it. While, on the one hand, from the causes I have noted above, I had failed to see the full import of the very facts which I recorded, and thus had an insurmountable barrier, as it seemed, set between Rome and my course onward; on the other hand, I had become, both practically

and theoretically, more and more disgusted with the Anglican Church, more and more struck with what I saw of the action and conduct of the Catholic Church abroad. And so it came to pass, that I was publishing the second edition of a book, written in the utmost good faith, with daily prayers for enlightenment, in ostensible defence of a communion which I thoroughly hated, and I was debarred from approaching a communion which drew me more and more, by a seemingly insoluble difficulty as to her claim—a difficulty which touched her whole authority. I may put here the end of the second period in my life at Launton. The *first*, from July 1842 to May 1845, is that in which, from perfect confidence in the position and rights of the Anglican Church, I gradually became unsettled, through internal growth of opinion, and insight into the impotence of her practical condition, helped by a single glimpse at the Church abroad. The *second*, from May 1845 to February 1848, when deeply moved by the intelligence of Newman's approaching departure from us. I used every means in my power, chiefly by study of the question of the Primacy, to ascertain the truth.

I terminate this chapter with a note from the author of the 'Christian Year' upon my defence of the Church of England, which, if it had not been mislaid, should have appeared above.

‘HURSLEY : October 26, 1846.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—I take shame to myself that I have not sooner thanked you for your very kind and by me most undeserved present of your book on the Supremacy. I have as yet only gone through it hastily, but it seems to me most exceedingly valuable, not only in argument, in which I should suppose it may wait long enough for an answer, but also in its calm and brotherly tone. God grant that it may, so to speak, set the fashion in that respect: it will be indeed a most cheering sign. I hope soon to read it again, when if anything occurs to me I will without scruple send you my remarks. At present I will mention one thing, which may perhaps be in your book, but I don’t recollect it, and have not time to look at present: but it seems to me to add no small weight to the argument. I mean that in none of the old Liturgies, except those which actually belonged to the Roman Church, is the Bishop of Rome specially prayed for, as he is now in the Roman Catholic Offices. Is not this a speaking fact? The Patriarch is almost always named.

‘Ever, my dear Mr. Allies,
‘Yours very sincerely and obliged,
‘J. KEBLE.’

CHAPTER V.

SOLUTION HELPED ON BY A MODEL ANGLICAN BISHOP.

THUS, at the age of thirty-five, the very *ὀμφαλός* of human life, behold me, fixed and tied by the strongest material bands, like a deep-laden and unseaworthy bark, to the bank of the Anglican Establishment, while my whole inward being is tossed about in the uttermost insecurity and bewilderment ! I remember saying to M. Labbé, what was my continual thought : ‘ If I could only go into the next room, and hear from an infallible authority what I ought to do ! ’ Of the misery of this state I shall have occasion to speak further on, as I described it at the time.

I may as well state, here, how the second edition of my book, ‘ The Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism, ’ was received. The first edition, July 1846, had sold immediately ; and I had good reason to believe a certain number of disquieted spirits had perched upon it, and found for themselves at least a temporary footing. In the meantime, I had worked hard, and greatly enlarged my induction of facts ; I had also enlarged the extent of time

considered, and might fairly conclude that whatever strength my former argument had was at least maintained and increased in its fuller exposition. It was known that I was preparing a second edition, and interest was from time to time shown about it. But when it came out, it sold very poorly. I soon found that 1846 had been a time of peculiar perturbation of spirits, after Newman's secession, which had given to the Establishment an appearance of interest in such studies far greater than really existed. The knaves had now weathered the storm; quarter-day came round, and they found rents and tithes still paid, though Newman had gone, and few, indeed, were there prepared to go into such a subject with labour and zeal, or to sacrifice anything for it. All that has since passed has confirmed this conclusion to which I then gradually came. It contributed to make me despise the *mind* of Anglicanism, for it was only by degrees that I came to see how the Anglican Church possesses no scientific theology, and of course nurtures no love in her people for it. It would be an appetite which she could not feed, and which would tempt stragglers perpetually over her ill-defined borders.

My state, at this time, is best expressed in a review of the foregoing year, dated March 5, 1849. '*February 12, 1848, to February 12, 1849.*—Thirty-fifth to thirty-sixth birthday. The second edition of the "Defence of the Church of England from

Schism," came out on February 9, 1848. I was heartily sorry to lose a subject round which my studies could group themselves. I have always wanted this, and a definite task—a work for the intellect and a work for the heart. Henceforth may God, as He is truth, occupy one, and God, as He is love, the other. I began to look about what I should do, and purposed a review of the past, but the time slipped on, and it was not done. All the difficulties which press on our position as English Churchmen began to employ me, and I deliberated as to whether I should continue the design conceived in 1846, and proceed with the "Defence from Heresy," as I had done with that "From Schism."

'In forming this design, I may note that I seem to have been the only one of that party who set himself, after Newman's becoming a Catholic, to the task of defending the Anglican Church from the double charge of heresy and schism, *on the same principles* as those started by the authors of the Tracts, in 1833, which had been accepted by the party generally. The total renunciation of those principles, by submitting both to the Queen in her Privy Council, as the supreme judge of a doctrinal point, and to the specific heresy embodied in its decision, has most deeply discredited that party since the Gorham affair. It may be noted how Dr. Pusey, in full conformity with his subsequent conduct, did all he could to turn me away from the unaccomplished

portion of this design, seeing that it could hardly fail to make both myself and others Catholics. It is this sort of conduct which seems to wear an aspect of inward dishonesty, and refusal to meet the light.

I continue :—

‘Consulting E. B. P. on the question of heresy, he seemed to discourage its study. *February 28.*—“The point really being, how far the allowal of heresy destroys a Church, and at the end of the discussion one would have got no further than this.” “I doubt, however, whether, in so advising, he was aware of the need of my mind.”’

But it is worth transcribing the account of this interview, made by me at the time, as giving an authentic instance of how heart-felt, and head-felt difficulties were met by the most celebrated Anglican adviser, whom his followers like to call ‘Il Santo.’

‘*February 29, 1848.*—Called on Pusey, last Tuesday, 22nd, and again yesterday, to set before him my difficulties. They consist in the inadequate expression, or omission altogether, of parts of the Catholic system, which our formularies, as settled at the Reformation, present. For instance :—

1. The maiming and dislocation of the Liturgy.
2. The putting out of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.
3. The practical denial of the Priesthood.
4. The all but universal disuse of Confession.
5. The language about the five minor Sacraments.

6. The theory of Justification.
7. The not holding the Real Presence.

‘ We conversed about an hour and a half on these. The *first*, he allowed. The *second*, maintained that we had all that was essential to the Sacrifice. The *third*, said the Prayer Book put forth the priesthood as strongly as could be desired. The *fourth*, that confession was authorised. The *fifth*, that however badly the 25th Article, in that part, was drawn up, the English Church was borne out in setting the two great Sacraments above the others *longo intervallo*. The *sixth*, that our theory of Justification was St. Augustine’s. The *seventh*, that our language really contained and authorised the Real Presence, and the restrictive assertions were directed against a *carнал* Presence. He allowed, then, that we were deeply suffering from certain changes made at the Reformation; that our present weakness and want of unity were the result of indecisive and ambiguous language, then adopted; that this was much to be deplored, but that it did not *unchurch* us; that what we had must be devotionally used, with a prayer for better times. He seemed to think that no detailed study of these and other points would lead to any very satisfactory conclusion, because the point really at issue was—*How far the allowance of heresy destroys a Church*; and at the end of the discussion one would have got no further than this. He maintains, most

stoutly, that no heresy is set forth in the Articles, or elsewhere.

‘He had shown my letter to C. Marriott, who had observed that if I considered the matter as honestly as I had done in the case of the Supremacy, the result would be the same.

“J. H. N.,” he said, “had been carried off by the Supremacy.”’

This may be considered a perfect specimen of Dr. Pusey’s answer to theological difficulties. Is it any wonder that as soon as one was out of his presence all the doubts came back? In all this, it was presupposed that the *allowal of heresy* does not unchurch a Communion.

It may be observed that Dr. Pusey’s advice was aimed at throwing me off from the study of the special circumstances of Anglicanism in regard to doctrines held by it, to the study of theology in itself.

To recur to the summary of the year 1848 made in 1849 :—

‘Then came a proposal to exchange Launton for St. Etheldreda, which took me to London, and occupied my thoughts for some time. It was put an end to by the Bishop of London’s refusal, delivered to me *vivâ voce* in the most uncourteous, almost brutal, manner. From March 28 to July 1, my regular study was ‘Petavius on the Incarnation.’ Then came the visit to France, July 8 to August 22, terminated by that to Manning.’

But what is here mentioned had an important bearing on my after-course. In the spring of 1848 my 'Journal of the Tour in France' of 1845—which I think had been only seen by two friends, and had since peacefully slumbered for two years in a drawer—was shown to Pollen and Wynne, and by these two persons, I believe, to Heathcote. The result was a request to me to publish it, at least in part, or revised. I felt that there was not sufficient matter to make anything like a complete picture of what had so forcibly struck me at the time, and I had always keenly desired that what I had seen should be made known to others, being convinced that hardly any Protestant had a notion of it. I determined, therefore, to go to Paris again for the purpose of getting further information, and so, by adding the two journals together, to produce a view of things somewhat less imperfect. I succeeded in getting Patterson to start at least with me, and we went off to a confirmation at Yvetot. In all this I was actuated by a feeling of duty which I seemed to owe to the Roman Church. I wanted to exhibit another side of the question which had powerfully affected myself, and the knowledge of which seemed to make it a duty to communicate what one knew to others. I had against my will been obliged to say hard things in the book defending Anglicanism, and that book ill represented my own state of feeling. It was truly a labour of love, that second visit in 1848. I worked

very hard, and what I most felt, was *alone* at Paris about it for some time. The latter half of the journal being a full record of how I was occupied, I say here no more about it. Having reached the end of my holidays, I returned, and took the opportunity of going to see Archdeacon Manning, after his own return from Rome, being very desirous to see what effect the sight of things there had had on him. At Lavington I fell in with E. Coleridge, who, hearing that I had a journal which might be published, became alarmed, and earnestly begged that it might be submitted to Manning's judgment. This I consented to. Manning read it, and wrote back dissuading its publication, as being far beyond what people were prepared for, and as sure to lead to great persecution of myself. 'If you *will* publish it,' he said, 'go first and try yourself by standing like Curtius on the point of a javelin, and contemplate the gulf into which you will leap.' Then followed a curious piece of *Puseyism*. In compliance with Manning's advice I had relinquished my own purpose, and given up the thought of publishing, when one day I received a note from Manning to the effect that H. Wilberforce (to whom M. had shown the journal) was of opinion that it might be *revised* and published, and intimating his own agreement; I took this *au pied de la lettre*, and offered Manning himself the revision of it. To this for some time *no answer came*, until, tired out, I offered the task to Heathcote, who had already gal-

lantly proposed to publish it himself, without name of the author, for he, and Wynne, and Pollen, were extremely unwilling that the publication should be given up. Heathcote undertook the work, and I carried it when done to Manning, who did not look into it, but contented himself with approving what I described as having been done. He would not let me dedicate it to him: 'It will put me,' he said, 'in the position of being asked by everybody, "Do you believe these things which have been written by an intimate friend of yours, and dedicated to you?"' I shall be obliged to answer, "I do," when perhaps I had rather not answer the question.' But in writing to me, he sketched a slight dedication 'to our Mother the Church in England, &c.,' which I liked so much that I put it in unaltered. The book came out, and a great storm arose from the Bishop of Oxford, moved by the newspapers—and I naturally thought that the publication itself had been determined by the Bishop's own brother and Manning; when at length the real truth came out, that Dr. Pusey, in the autumn of 1848, hearing erroneously that I was bent at all hazards on publishing it, wrote to Manning to suggest the revision, in order to lessen, at any rate, the evil; that Manning had couched the advice as I have described; and that the very step thus taken by Dr. Pusey against the publication, had brought it about. So much for underhand dealing, for I believe the effects of this publication made

both myself and my wife Catholics, and helped on many others. And this result was brought about in two ways—partly by moving many Catholics to pray for our conversion, and partly by the irritation which the persecution produced, and by the very poor opinion of the Anglican authorities, and even of Dr. Pusey, which the course of things then taken bred in us; and this told especially on my wife.

I will here ante-date a little, to show the state of my mind at the moment the ‘Journal’ was published.

‘February 19, 1849.—Received to-day the first copies of my “Journal in France.” I went into the garden, and read the whole conclusion. The publishing this book gives me extreme gratification. It so exactly sets forth my mind; it pays a debt which I seemed to owe to the Roman Church. I then went into the church, laid it on the altar, and presenting it to God, prayed that if it set forth His truth He would prosper it, and cause it to work in its degree for the union of His Church; if not, that He would give it little success, and not permit it to do harm. If one could “inquire of the Lord” and receive an undoubted answer, what a relief sometimes would it be! Manning, H. Wilberforce, and Richards prophesy a great storm. My feeling is that these things ought to be known. I would bring things to an issue if I could, *i.e.* make it fairly seen whether the Church of England really and practically holds the whole truth or denies it.

‘*February 20.*—At the Holy Sacrifice this morning repeated the presentation of my book. It lay on the altar the whole time; I used the same conditional prayer. I am in a state of considerable exultation at its coming out. Wrote yesterday to J. H. N. briefly, thanking him for his prayers, and asking a continuance of them; to Bishop of Brechin, asking his view of my book, and to Keble, ditto. I seem to have discharged a sacred debt to the Roman Church.’

Now going back to the summary of the year 1848.

‘After preparing journal and writing preface (August 28 to September 1) to *Tour of 1845*, *Letters 1847*, and *Tour 1848*, I finished in September Klee on the “*History of Dogma*,” with references to the Fathers, as I went along, especially on the Eucharist. On Saturday, September 9, made a great discovery, that S. Ambrose and S. Augustine speak of it as the practice of their day to worship Christ in the Eucharist. This has deeply impressed me as bearing witness to the present Roman practice, and a real identity of faith. Read the “*Faith of Catholics on Indulgences and Purgatory*,” looking to Tournely for the former, ditto on “*Eucharist*,” pp. 156–509, 2nd vol., with S. Augustine, out of whom I collected many passages seeming at first sight to favour the Sacramentarians, of which the solution is found in the “*Perpetuité de la Foi*,” but at first it was really puzzling. I found these passages had formed the battle-field between Arnaud and Claude. I think that

Tom. 8, pp. 991–999, chap. 8, supplies the key to them. It is, in brief, that the terms *figura* and *sacramentum* in S. Augustine's mind do not *exclude* but *include* the reality of the Presence; whereas in the Calvinistic view it is the contrary. S. Augustine's words offer a remarkable handle to an un-Catholic mind. They are an instance of the danger of interpreting particular expressions without holding the mind of an author.

‘*September 8.*—Had a letter from J. H. N. expressing his surprise at the position I had taken up. In reply I gave him a sketch of the course I had pursued in the last three years, and a sort of challenge to point out where I had been wrong. On the 16th he wrote a few lines declining controversy, and intimating that he prayed for me.’

I subjoin these two letters, but I have no copy of the one I sent in answer to the first. This of his was a sharply pointed shaft.

‘MARYVALE, PERRY BAR: Sept. 6, 1848.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Thank you for the pamphlet you have sent me by to-day's post, which from its subject I shall read with much interest. I was very glad to find my introduction was useful to you. You would have been much pleased with the Archbishop of Besançon; he has the reputation and the carriage of a very saintly man.

‘Glad as I am to be of service to you, it pains me

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more than you can understand to write to you. I cannot make out how you reconcile it with yourself, to take up a position which so few people, if any, in the whole world ever did before you. You have, excuse me, no pretence to say you follow the Church of England. Do you follow her living authorities, or her Reformers, or Laud, or her liturgy, or her Articles? I cannot understand a man like you going by private judgment, though I can understand his thinking he goes by authority, when he does not. I can understand a man identifying Laud with the Church of England, or Cranmer with the Church of England, but it amazes me to find him interpreting the Church of England by himself, and making himself the prophet and doctor of his Church. This, I suppose, you and a few others are now doing—calling *that* the Church of England, which never was before so called since that Church was. I can't make out *how* you can be said to go by *authority*—and, if not, are not you, and all who do like you, only taking up a form of liberalism? It puzzles me that people won't call things by their right names—why not boldly discard what is no longer practically professed? Say that the Catholic Church *is not*—that it has broken up—this I understand. I don't understand saying that there is a Church, and one Church, and yet acting as if there were none or many. This is dreaming, surely.

‘Excuse this freedom. I don't wish, as you may well suppose, to get up a controversy, when we both

have so much to do—but, when I think of your position and that of others, I assure you it frightens me.

‘Ever yours most sincerely,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

‘MARYVALE, PERRY BAR: Sept. 16, 1848.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I write you a line to acknowledge yours, lest you should think it unkind in me not to do so—not as if I intended to take up your time, as I said in my former letter, with argument. Were it worth while doing so, and were time cheap, there would be much to say on various points you bring forward; but I intended my letter merely as a protest, lest you should think me other than I am, and assuring you I often think of you at sacred times,

‘I am, my dear Allies,

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

I may remark that I never understood why he sent this sort of answer to me; and could hardly avoid construing it as an admission of weakness. I fancy now that he thought I was not perfectly sincere.

‘Then I read the horrible history of the Reformation through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, in Collier: a matter of duty, but most painful. I had been looking forward to December 23,

1848, as the tenth anniversary of my ordination as a priest, and consulting E. B. P. how to keep it, I should have liked a *retreat* had it been practicable, but he was away, so I set about the other part of my design (just begun at my last birthday, but not continued), a review of my whole life from January 1830, when I began to keep a diary. This has been a three months' work (interrupted by passing the journal through the press, January 12 to February 11) beginning in December and ending in March, a work that I am very glad to have done, though the first eight years or nearly cost me unspeakable shame and pain to go through. I trust it has not been fruitless in self-knowledge. I wrote nothing on December 23, 1848, nor on February 12, 1849, because I was engaged on this work, and what I had to say would come more naturally at the end.

'The past year has been one, I think, of less internal agitation than the three preceding it. There is really nothing to be done but to go on praying, studying, and crying "O send out thy light and thy truth." Deeply as the visit to France interested me, it had not the unsettling effect of that in 1845. The things I saw were only a continuation of what I already knew. The publication of the journal is a real comfort to me: it is a public protest against those things which for so many years past have distressed me; the sense of which takes away from me the satisfaction which one ought to feel in being in

that very spot wherein Providence has placed me, and doing that very task which He has set me. It seems to me all I can do for *unity* at present, which is the first subject of my thoughts.

‘In January (1849) I was reading for some time “S. Thomas on the Eucharist,” and I really seemed to apprehend that under a phantasma of difference there was a real agreement between the Greek and our own communion on the one hand, and the Roman on the other. S. Thomas’ is a much more refined doctrine than I had imagined.’

A paper drawn up at this time shows how far I had advanced. It is entitled, ‘Statements in S. Thomas and the Articles, respecting the Holy Eucharist.’

And here I may remark by what slow degrees, and with what difficulty, one approached the truth on subjects *on which one had first received an heretical teaching and bias*. When I thus wrote, I had completed ten years of painful struggle after the Christian faith; and yet I had not apprehended the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, on which from the very beginning I had had the deepest and most solemn feelings. There must be something in heresy peculiarly blinding and confusing. It seems to paralyse the *voûs* or power of apprehending principles—the discerning the relation, coherence, and interdependence of doctrines. Then, again, what a villany in Anglicanism to conceal from its votaries

that in the age of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine the Eucharist was worshipped! that alone would terminate the contest between the two communions—Catholic and Anglican: for the *not* worshipping indicates an essential difference of character, in comparison with which the closest outward resemblances, even if they existed, would be of slight moment.

Read through, in December 1848, ‘Wilberforce on the Incarnation:’ in arrangement, and logical analysis, and distinctness of thought and expression, it disappointed me.

See likewise under December 14, 1848, the account of an interview with Archdeacon Manning and H. Wilberforce. The conclusion is: ‘As far as I can judge, M. and H. W. are as little satisfied with the present state of things among us, as little able to see their way, as much embarrassed to give a *rationale* of the phenomena on both sides, which will completely satisfy their hearts and consciences, as myself. M. is cautious, and H. W. impetuous, but I think there is not much difference of view in them at bottom, or with myself. I have derived much comfort from this interview.’ Time has justified the foregoing judgment.

Pastoral work has become to me truly oppressive, from the total want of inward discipline among us. It seems to me a sham, which in cases of serious illness I can hardly bear.

On March 9, 1849, I had completed, after three

months' work, a review of my life for nineteen years, from January 1830, which has been of use to me, and is often quoted in the present sketch. I then proceed to 'a review of my present state as to convictions, &c.' (March 13). It runs thus: 'The preceding pages show sufficiently in what a state of agitation and trial I have been as to the whole position of the English Church for now nearly five years (that is, from July 1844, when I read Ward's book). This state has been brought on, so far as I can trace it, by reflection quickened by a keen sense of the practical deficiencies in the working of the Church. The latter have been brought home to me in all their force by my mission to a very bad parish. As long as I was at the centre of the system, I felt whatever life there was; and, no doubt, nothing but practical pastoral experience would have given me the strong conviction, which I now entertain, of the actual *unreality* of the Anglican system. This inward character, combined with its historical and dogmatic position, has still greater weight. As there is nothing like looking thoughts which trouble one directly in the face, I have, in the last few days, been arranging the *for* and *against*, as they strike my own mind, on the Roman question.¹ By referring back to these, I shall be able to ascertain

¹ *Thoughts of an English Churchman on the Roman Controversy.* In October, 1849, I drew them in a rather larger form. They will be given further on.

which are fluctuating, and which abiding impressions; which stand the test of continued reflection and varying moods; which gather strength from time, and which evaporate. Our minds, like our bodies, change so imperceptibly, that without accurate analysis, at stated times, without careful weighing and specification of qualities, life becomes a perpetual drift, borne on a current over which one has no control. It is miserable to be forced to *action* when one is drifting; for decision, all the powers of the soul should be gathered up to one point, under a commander whom they can trust, and who can trust himself. This σωφρονισμός I would fain attain.

‘Perhaps a severer *spiritual* cross than that which in these five years I have been bearing is hardly to be found. The thought that one is *out* of the Catholic Church, that one’s Baptism, Eucharist, Orders, are all unreal, is hardly supportable. It is a chain from which by day and night one is never free—the last thought in the evening, the first in the morning; intruding at the most awful moments, shaking one’s confidence when it is most needed, harassing one in the very labours of charity. May it work in me a more entire resignation, patience, and faith! It is indeed *waiting* for the Lord.

‘At this present moment I seem to enjoy a lull of anxiety. The publication of my book last year, on the one hand, and of the “Journal” this year, on the other, appears to be all that one can do for the

cause of Truth and Unity. I look for the course to be made clearer than it is to all good Churchmen. Private challenges which I have made to J. H. N., le Père de Ravignan, Labbé, are so far satisfactory that they encourage me to hope that I am not shrinking from learning the truth. J. H. N. drew back in a remarkable way from my challenge last September.' Five days later, March 19, I add: 'I have been hitherto engaged mainly in a review of my past life, reading through journals and drawing up summaries, considering what my course of study should now be, day's employment, &c. In the past four weeks the "Journal" has been getting on swimmingly, drawing much attention, &c. I have had many letters; one, very kind, from J. H. N.; valuable, from W. Palmer; good, from Gladstone, Wynne, Pollen, Allen, H. Coleridge, Dodsworth, Lady Alderson, Richards, Bishop of Brechin; very good, from E. H. Thompson; good, from E. Coleridge, H. Wilberforce, Stokes, Patterson, Lord Adare, &c. Furious article in "Old Mother Gamp," indescribably beastly in "Church and State Gazette," unpleasant in "Guardian," angry in "Britannia."'

I insert here letters from Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Keble in reply to one from me, the late Judge Coleridge; the late C. Marriott, to show the various ways in which my 'Journal in France' was received; and one also from the Père de Ravignan in answer to both works, the 'Journal' and the 'Defence of the Church of England,' which I had sent to him.

‘6 CARLTON GARDENS: March 5, 1849.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—I thank you very cordially for your kindness in sending me a copy of your very interesting book. After so much that is unkind, unfair, and narrow-minded, has been published by travellers about the Roman Catholic system on the Continent, it is, or should be, a subject of lively satisfaction to see justice done to it. I sincerely wish I could go further; but while my mind would assent to most of what you say in a positive sense, I am sorry to say my experience, such as it has been, and my very limited reading also, have impressed me with the belief that the evils and corruptions of the Church of Rome are intense, and that any picture of her to exhibit the whole truth must develop largely elements at the existence of which you have scarcely glanced. Practically, therefore, I fear, my view, not of the abstract desirableness of the reunion of Christendom, but of our position and duties in regard to it, as well as of our comparative state while the rupture continues, is very different from yours—an avowal which I make by no means in the way of a challenge, or a judgment which I could not without the utmost presumption affect to pronounce upon you, but lest I should be uncandid by suppression while discharging the agreeable duty of acknowledging your kindness.

‘I remain,

‘Sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

REV. T. W. ALLIES.’

‘LAUNTON: February 19, 1849.

‘DEAR MR. KEBLE,—I hope you will receive by this post a copy of a little book, a journal in France. I am not, I am aware, entitled to beg your acceptance of it by any length or intimacy of acquaintance, but it touches on subjects of more than deep interest at present to English Churchmen, and on which your judgment possesses, in my eyes, the greatest weight. If, therefore, you should have time to cast your eye on it, it would be a satisfaction to me to know how it affects you. I approach the whole subject of Rome not with the feelings of an author but with those of the most trembling responsibility. To speak candidly, the existence of you, Dr. Pusey, Archdeacon Manning, and some others in the Anglican Communion is the strongest proof I can see at present of its being part of the Catholic Church. To such a degree does it appear to me to have sacrificed, and to sacrifice at present, all objective truth. I mean not the pen and paper English Church, but that Church which preaches every Sunday in some twelve thousand parishes and energises through Dr. Sumner and his colleagues. I have been so strongly impressed with what, on the other hand, I have seen in the Roman Church; and the profound ignorance, the wonderful misconception concerning it, which prevail almost universally among us, have been so brought home to me, that it seemed to me almost a sacred duty to set before others what I have seen.

On the whole subject no thought but one gives me any satisfaction—would that I could see any prospect of it!—the reunion of the two communions.

‘I hope you will think that times of peril authorise one almost a stranger to speak so frankly, and believe me,

‘Dear Mr. Keble,

‘Faithfully yours,

‘T. W. ALLIES.’

‘HURSLEY: April 17, 1849.

‘2nd Tuesday in Eastertide.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—Will you forgive my great unthoughtfulness, I fear I should say unkindness, in not having sooner thanked you for your kind present and letter? I have been rather busy: but the real truth I suppose is, that I hardly knew what to say. These great and *tender* subjects draw one so many ways at once; and when one seems ever so clearly to perceive one’s own line of duty in practice, it is so hard to put another exactly in possession of one’s thoughts. I have only just finished my thorough reading of the journal, though I have read a great deal of it more than once. Will you pardon me if I own that in some respects it has deeply pained me? Perhaps it would not have done so, nearly to the same extent, if I had not all along been haunted by that sentence in your letter, where you

say that, were it not for certain individuals, you should feel inclined to give up our Church. This caused me, perhaps, to put a more unfavourable construction upon parts of the "Journal," and especially upon the conclusion, than I should otherwise have done, and would certainly embarrass me much if I had to plead for the book in conversation. But I think you must have written in a hurry, and could hardly mean what you say. Seeing that if the being of a Church (I do not say its *well-being*) depends on the more or less *apparent* sanctity of individuals within it, or even of the general mass, it must vary from time to time and from place to place in the same body: e.g. if your knowledge of the excellency of the French Church at present is a reason for accounting it, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the Church, you ought, I suppose, during good part of the eighteenth century, to have reckoned it *no* Church; or if you saw it even now in some unfavourable light—in parts of Ireland, perhaps, or of South America (I do not know, but only put the case), it would be no Church *there*.

'All that you say on that head is admirable against those who call it Anti-Christian, &c.; and the details are admirable as examples to provoke us to jealousy—God forbid I should think a thought in disparagement of them! But it seems to me that the whole of these kinds of good might have been more effectually and *charitably* done, if more thorough

was upon no sufficient authority pledging myself to definite statements on points which Scripture and antiquity had left indefinite. So that if, as the least of several evils, I *did* feel compelled to ask for admission among them, I should feel that I could not do it strictly in faith; but in the hope of being spared, if wrong, in consideration of invincible ignorance. Indeed, this matter, of being definite without sufficient warrant, seems to meet one in almost every part of the Roman system; and would in my mind more than counterbalance the deep satisfaction with which I might assist at R. C. services, and use their books of devotion unchanged. I hope that I shall not have startled you too much in saying this; and I hope also, that, if thoroughly carried out, this kind of feeling would not prove adverse to the re-union we all so earnestly desire, but in the end would tend towards it; provided always it were accompanied with hearty uncompromising faith in the great points which the Universal Church *has* defined for us.

‘I return the correspondence with the Bishop of Oxford, which W. B. H. also put into my hands. I trust that your very striking quotations will have their effect, and that you will soon be relieved from the great discomfort (how great, I know better than I could wish) of being in *polemics* with your Diocesan. I am sorry to see that the Bishop considers the report about an Encyclical letter of last February,

for ourselves. Under this head I cling with some fondness to an idea which I see had commended itself to a high authority in your book, pp. 232-3, that our Church has so far fulfilled her calling as that our people have more *average* religion than any other country: if the Latins could get this, and we, counsels of perfection, we might by God's mercy hope for visible union in His good time. Our course then is, setting aside all notions of conversion from one to the other, to labour as we may for the supply of our several wants; and surely there are great providential encouragements on each side so to do. If this idea is a correct one it would seem to be of great consequence to be mastered and *felt* by a person publishing such a work as yours; and I apprehend that, being carried out, it would effectually secure the work from being offensive in the way of disparagement. It would not be quite candid in me were I not to own that I could not have said all that you say of the Roman doctrine of the Real Presence and of the honour due to the B. Virgin Mother, without adding something by way of caution: *i.e.* I not only believe that in both respects there is a good deal of popular error among them, which is winked at, as many errors are among ourselves, but I *could* not, even were I turned out of this Church, adopt from my heart that faith on these two points which I must adopt to be a R. C. at all. I could not get rid of the impression that in both of them I

that I think you have made two serious mistakes—the first in the form of the book—seeing what your object was, to make us know more and feel better about the Roman Church, and that this assumed ignorance and prejudice to be existing more or less amongst us, the journal form was peculiarly unfitted for your purpose. What you had to say should have been put forward in the most careful and guarded manner—but the journal, especially when the writer feels so strongly as you do, is almost sure to convey the truth in the most careless and offensive way—every bit of cake is accompanied by a slap in the face. This seems to me *now* so obvious, that I almost wonder it did not occur to me when you mentioned your intention to me in London, but I really wonder it did not occur to Manning when he read the journal. I uncommonly regret this mistake, because I think if you fail in doing the good you intended, it will be in a great measure owing to it, and it is a failure very difficult to set right. You would certainly have diminished to some extent the liveliness and first interest of the book to read—but this is as nothing compared to its after-effect.

‘The second defect depends in some measure on the former; when one pauses and begins to consider the book, it is impossible not to be struck with its *one-sidedness*, and the narrowness of the premisses compared with the breadth of the conclusion. You visit about a twentieth of France, and you see in it

certain selected specimens, *exhibited* by certain selected clergymen, whom you knew, and who knew you beforehand—and from this you draw general conclusions affecting both Churches—and in so doing, in admiring the good, you seem to forget that the greater part of this was tried and known and voluntarily given up, not merely because supposed to be unmixedly evil, or not actually productive of good in many instances, but on a balance of good and evil consequences—as cases where the practice was not of necessity, and therefore, where against the use, the frequency and evil of abuse might be taken into account. If you had written a treatise, you could not have passed this consideration by—it must have formed part of your discussion, without which you would have felt the whole to be incomplete. In a journal it was, naturally enough, omitted; but the journal was meant to do what an argument would have done—you meant to change men's opinions—and therefore either the journal ought to have fulfilled the conditions of an argument, or was an unfit vehicle for your matter. Take for examples, auricular confession and the celibacy of the clergy; is it possible to say that there are not two sides on both these points? or can you doubt that if you had gone to work with a more even-handed inquiry, you might not have heard very important evidence against your conclusion as to both.

‘Now the absence of this not only diminishes the

authority of your book, but serves to increase the very prejudice you wish to put down—it lets in somewhat of personal anger against the writer; and this is naturally increased by the attitude which you seem to have assumed towards your hosts everywhere—you are the *confitens reus*, they are treating you personally with kindness because they fancy you are half-way towards them, and *coming the other half*; in respect of which latter it is that you are favoured—your first half by itself would be nothing—you would be still simply heretic and no more. Now it is impossible for sincere members of our Church to *like* to see ministers of it assume that position, and publish it to the world.

‘I know I am taxing your patience and good-nature by saying all this, and yet, on the footing on which we are and have been for so many years, I should be wanting in kindness if I suppressed it; and I trust to your goodness to forgive me for my sincerity. I am, perhaps, the more annoyed, because I should have so rejoiced to see the questions of discipline and auricular confession treated of carefully and systematically, with knowledge of its actual working in a state of society much like our own. With regard to celibacy I should like evidence to be collected how it works among the Roman Catholic priests in *English Missions*. French evidence would not be conclusive in all respects for England. My general notion of what is best is that there should be many married, many unmarried clergy—we suffer, I think, because the proportion

of the latter is not large enough—but a general increase of the clergy, I believe, would remove that evil. On the other hand, there are many things for which the married clergy are most fit, and the wife is not without her use many ways.

‘There is a very *low-toned* article in the “Quarterly Review,” in which you are misnamed and abused most absurdly, while Mr. Curzon is praised for simple book-stealing—doing what if done here instead of in the Levant, he would have been transported for.

‘Best regards to Mrs. A., and my kindest love to Basil.

‘Yours ever,
‘J. T. C.’

‘ORIEL: Easter Monday, 1849.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have read over your last pages, in which I think you said the danger lay; as also the talk with Lady —— about Invocation; and my opinion certainly is that they are not fusty,¹ and that so far you have exercised a laudable subtilty.

‘As to other things—I mean other degrees of irritation of our irritables—I do think you have been injudicious, and must make up your mind to a storm in consequence, and to people’s not standing by you as they would *if the real matters at issue were all that was concerned*.

¹ *I.e.* liable to condemnation by the Judge of the Court of Arches, then Sir H. Jenner Fust.

‘I can’t understand your want of sensibility to a *flout* upon the English Church. *Reproof* is quite another thing, though a man should look at home before he ventures on it.

‘If you will but be patient and hold your own, this storm will and must blow over. In the meantime *you* think *you* are the sufferer, while *we* who are fighting for our lives for every little bit of *practical* good that can be accomplished, have really to bear your burden in the shaken confidence of our superiors, and the fright of the weaker members of various classes—of the Catholicising ones at the *storm*—of the Puritanising at *you*.

‘Depend on it the less fuss you make the better your case stands, and the surer is your good to be done, in spite of the slips by which you have perilled it.

‘Ever yours affectionately,

‘C. MARRIOTT.’

‘LAVINGTON: March 22, 1849.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I yesterday finished your book, and write at once to give my censure—*dat veniam corvis*, and you are a black one.

‘From the tone of the ‘Guardian,’ and from words dropped by friends, I was afraid I should find more than I do.

‘But it has certainly been chastised.

‘And yet not up to the conditions I gave in my letter.

‘ For instance :—

‘ 1. The miracles I am unable to judge of ; and I fear that their effect will be to perplex and to sway people towards a communion which claims this as a witness against us.

‘ 2. The Invocations are accepted to the extent of approval, or seem so.

‘ 3. The conclusion is rhetorically persuasive one way and dissuasive another. Although it is much chastened and the censures upon the English Church reduced, yet I am afraid the effect will be in the direction of Rome.

‘ Also I think that if you had referred to the English Church at all (which had better not have been) it would have been right to do it more fully. Now, there are marked points which ought to be taken.

‘ 1. Missions—whatever they were in time past—are very different now—as New Zealand, Newfoundland, &c. In making a substantive statement of the Roman Catholic Missions, more (if anything) ought to have been given of ours.

‘ 2. The increase of churches and clergy—not less than 1,200 to 1,500 in fifteen years.

‘ 3. The education work, schools, and colleges of the last ten years.

‘ 4. The remarkable proportion of men to women in our congregations and at the Blessed Sacrament. The *conversion* of multitudes in the Inns of Court

and among all professions, specially physicians (I take this *masculine* element to be a deep sign).

‘ 5. Your estimate of the number of clergy who receive confession is too small, but I confess with shame our state.

‘ Now, with so full and moving a synopsis of the Roman Catholic and French Church, either we ought to have been passed over in silence or treated *in extenso*.

‘ I have marked as I went along the passages which will tell for the Roman Church, and against it, *i.e.* for us, and I find of the former thirty-one, with all the conclusions, of the latter twelve.

‘ Let me hear of you, and who has written to you, and in what sense. The amount of valuable, instructing, shaming, stirring matter is great, and this is what I wished to see, without any reflections. I fear that sore heads will remember only the reflections and forget the facts.

‘ Parts of the book are very beautiful and true.

‘ May God bless you in all things !

‘ Ever yours affectionately,

‘ H. E. MANNING.’

‘ 90 PRINCES STREET, EDINBURGH : March 3, 1849.

‘ MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have to thank you for a copy of your “Journal in France” which reached me by post not long ago, and which I have read with great interest. It is certainly an antidote to Christopher

Wordsworth's Establishmentarian Journals; and I quite sympathise with the disposition it shows, to exhibit the French Church as a living spiritual society in the words and acts and feelings of its members. At the same time it is a very delicate matter to exhibit any living system, or body, whether a church, a nation, or an individual character, without either disfiguring and misrepresenting them as Wordworth has done, or throwing ourselves *too completely* into the spirit of that which we describe. It is a subject which I feel to be far beyond my depth, and of course our convictions may differ, but I should have been more cautious than you have been in seeming to sympathise absolutely with all the outward forms and developments through which real and undeniable life may be working. I should have preferred throwing much of what now comes from you upon those from whom you received the impressions. I am afraid, as it is, that if you have obtained a great deal of worthless and dishonest commendation, from Anglicans who were Protestants at heart, for your last book, because it tended to defend "*us*" and "*our position*" against the "*seceders*," you will now have a double and treble quantity of unmerited abuse, to make up for it, for this new volume from the same quarters. And I fear that its general effect may not be so much to raise the tone of people among us who might be improved (though it will, no doubt, do this also in many cases) as to recommend Roman Catho-

licism as a whole system. (And yet this too, when one thinks of our actual state, and the obstinacy with which we refuse to see or mend our faults, is a huge good.) If any people are such as to be capable of earnestness in our own Church, I would not, of choice, have written for their benefit all that you have now written. But if any will not, or cannot unlearn their Protestantism, as members of our Church, I can wish them no greater benefit than to be attracted by whatever is good in others. In making these reflections I allude for matters of detail to such things as the implied recommendation of the reservation of the Holy Eucharist for purposes of adoration in churches, &c. I well know that this is represented, felt, and used by the priests abroad just as you say: and I believe with you that it is practically one great channel of edification and grace to them. But this does not in the least (to my mind) involve the consequence that such a development is to be recommended for imitation to others who have it not; or that the whole Church during so many ages before this system grew up was so far imperfect and behind the present French Church in the means of grace. [If you say, better have this than remain as we are—I fully admit it. If there be only this alternative, the sooner we are all simply Roman Catholics the better.] I have mentioned one instance. Now, a number of such suggests a general spirit such as to carry us altogether out of ourselves, and

to throw us by sympathy into the whole system of those who are in most respects so vastly our superiors, and whose superiority (when after absolute blindness and bitter prejudice we first come to see it) must be something overpowering. To the multitude of readers your assertion of the distinction between the Papal Primacy and Monarchy would, I should think, be as nothing, if they passed at once from common Protestantism or Anglicanism to such a sympathy for the French and Roman Church as I suspect your Journal may be calculated to inspire.

‘But setting aside such criticisms, which depend on one’s own personal views, I am sure that it cannot be wrong to rejoice that from whatever source and with whatever probable effect upon controversial tendencies, we have now at least one fair representation in English of the religious working of the French Church, such in every respect (except a few personal opinions of your own, e.g. about the use of the vulgar tongue, communion in both kinds, &c.) as a zealous and eloquent member of the French clergy might have written for himself; and that so the unfairness of having among us only hostile or distorted representations of the French Church is more or less done away.

‘Now I have made you rather an ungracious return for a present which I really much value, by sending you such a letter of criticisms and misgivings; but I hope in a short time to give you your revenge in another way, by bringing you a thick

volume which I have been printing here myself for the Scottish clergy, and in which you will probably find at least as much to blame in the way of defect in warmth as I have found in yours now in the way of excess. With best regards to Mrs. Allies, and love to my godson,

‘Believe me always,

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘W. PALMER.

‘P.S.—Excuse my illegible writing, but I have had the gout for some time past in my right hand, and it is not yet quite gone. I hope soon to be again at Oxford or Mixbury.’

‘DUNDEE: 1st Thursday in Lent, 1849.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—I thank you much for your kind note. I have read the book with very great interest indeed, and though I think people may perhaps say that you have seen things a little through a Claude Lorraine glass, yet I am very thankful indeed that you have struck a blow at the Donatism that we insulars are so much in the habit of indulging in. I confess I was always at issue with David Lewis on the fate of Gallicanism. It was, humanly speaking, the only chance of amalgamation with us *en masse*. Wake appears to me a more interesting character than people generally make him out, and he must have seen that while the Church of England and the Royalty might stand something like the

old Church of France, they never would endure such a theology or such a theory of the Church as that of your friend the Bishop of Langres. I am very ignorant of the present state of the French Church, though I deeply sympathise with them in their holy war against the powers of the evil one. What I have seen of their modern theology has struck me as not always having been in the best taste, but I suppose that is the result of their depressed state. I think there is a great deal that the Saxon mind does not take kindly to; indeed, the course of the Teutonic nations since the Reformation has been a very significant fact in history. I think there is one point (if I may venture to speak, who know so little of these things)—have you made sufficient allowance for the natural antagonism of the Church to the evil world in which it lives, which will always be? May one not say that the very badness of France is a cause (independent of the better system) of the wonderful fruits of faith which you found there? Christian France is now like the state of the Roman Empire, before the Constantine toleration. The lightning is the brighter for the blackness of the cloud whence it fulminates. Your accounts of the miracles are very curious. I inclose you a very curious document regarding a case that came under my own eye in this town, about two months ago. The woman's firm belief, and that of the other sick women in the ward, is that the means of her cure was the Blessed Sacra-

ment. Pray read the paper and let me have it again. I think our little brotherhood should take into its thoughts the sad profanations that are done to our Lord in His Sacrament throughout England. I declare I dislike to communicate anywhere except where one knows one is safe from having one's devotion destroyed and one's peace of mind disturbed for the day, by the gross carelessness of the celebrant, added to the friability of the species in our use. I wish you would suggest it to them. In Scotland our *own* people receive in the open hand, or with the two hands crossed after the old usage. This is a step better, but still—Can you tell me what is the best short treatise on Bishops, Priests, and Deacons' duties. I wish we had something of the kind. I suppose Fleury is as good as any.

‘Humbly craving that the Divine blessing may attend you in all your ways, and desiring you every spiritual blessing,

‘Believe me,

‘Your unworthy Servant,

‘✠ ALEX. BISHOP OF BRECHIN.

‘REV. T. W. ALLIES.’

‘MONSIEUR,—J’ai trop tardé à vous témoigner ma sensible reconnoissance pour vos bontés pendant votre séjour à Paris, et pour l’envoi successif de vos deux précieux ouvrages.

‘Cependant, je le dis avec une entière vérité, votre souvenir est profondément gravé dans mon cœur,

et il vous garde et vous gardera toujours les plus tendres, les plus vraies sympathies. Votre loyauté est si grande, vos études si élevées et consciencieuses, que la distance qui sépare nos deux esprits devra un jour être franchie, et nous nous trouverons ensemble dans l'unité. Mes vœux ardents le demandent au ciel. Les occupations multipliées du ministère m'ont empêché de recueillir et de vous envoyer mes observations sur votre savant ouvrage "*The Church of England*," &c. Je trouverais difficilement le loisir de vous en écrire comme cela le mériterait. Mais n'est-il pas vrai, nos cœurs plus que nos esprits chercheront la vérité : nous prierons ; nous demanderons aux pieds de Dieu s'il est possible qu'une Eglise demeure séparée de l'Eglise dont Pierre est le fondement et le chef ? si l'unité pour laquelle N. S. a prié comporte l'état de l'Eglise Anglicane, si l'on est catholique sous ces conditions ?

‘Pardon, mon bien cher et vénéré Docteur, je n’adresse que mes sentiments à votre science, et ma pauvreté est bien peu capable de se mesurer avec elle ; mais vous m’avez inspiré une tendre et véritable affection. J’espère toujours en vous, je vous aimerai toujours, et je prierai pour votre éternel bonheur.

‘Je demande à Dieu que cette lettre vous parvienne sûrement et vous porte l’expression vive et sincère de mon profond et respectueux devouement.

‘X. DE RAVIGNAN, S.J.

‘PARIS : 17 Avril, 1849.’

The following letter from Father Newman will, at least in part, explain the drift of the preceding letters from him in September 1848, which had so perplexed me :—

‘ ORATORY, ALCESTER STREET, BIRMINGHAM,

‘ February 20, 1849.

‘ Thank you very much, my dear Allies, for your most interesting, and, if I might use the word without offence, hopeful book. It cannot be but it must subserve the cause of Catholic unity, of which you must know I think there is but one way. You do me injustice, if you think, as I half gathered from a sentence in it, that I speak contemptuously of those who now stand where I have stood myself. But persons like yourself should recollect that *the* reason *why* I left the Anglican Church was that I thought salvation was not to be found in it. This feeling could not stop there. If it led me to leave Anglicanism, it necessarily led me, and leads me, to wish others to leave it. The position of those who leave it in the only way in which I think it justifiable to leave it, is necessarily one of *hostility* to it. To leave it merely as *a* branch of the Catholic Church, for another which I liked better, would have been to desert without reason the post where Providence put me. It is impossible, then, but that a convert, if justifiable in the grounds of his conversion, must be an enemy of the communion he has left, and more intensely so than a foreigner who knows nothing about that communion at all.

‘Moreover, he will feel most anxiously about those whom he has left in it, lest they should be receiving grace which ought to bring them into the Catholic Church, yet are in the way to quench it, and to sink into a state in which there is no hope.

‘Especially will he be troubled at those who put themselves forward as teachers of a system which they cannot trace to any set of men, or any doctor, before themselves; who give up history, documents, theological authors, and maintain that it is *blasphemy against* the Holy Ghost to deny the signs of Catholicism and divine acceptance, as a *fact*, in the existing bearing and action of their communion.

‘But of such as you, my dear Allies, I will ever augur better things, and hope against hope, and believe the day will come when (excuse me) you will confess that you have been in a dream; and meanwhile I will not cease to say Mass for you, and all who stand where you stand, on the tenth day of every month, unless something very particular occur.

‘Again begging you to excuse this freedom, I am,

‘My dear Allies,

‘Most sincerely yours,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.’

The lull of anxiety spoken of above was soon to terminate. The very day after this had been written, March 19, 1849, the Bishop of Oxford began his attack on me for the publication of the Journal. ‘It

would seem,' I write, 'as if I was to be driven into the wilderness, immediately after Thursday last.' A confirmation was taking place in the neighbouring church of Stratton Audley, which I attended with some of my flock, and, curiously enough, the companions of my journey in Italy, Mr. Wynne and Mr. Pollen—who had likewise written letters on the Tyrolese *stigmatisées*, to which the 'Guardian' had refused admittance, but which were contained in my published journal—were with me also. Thus the Bishop caught the three delinquents together. Two, being Fellows of All Souls' and Merton respectively, were beyond his grasp; but the third, and most offensive, was one of his clergy. And the sacred rite being concluded, the Bishop handed to me the following letter:—

'TUSMORE: March 17, 1849.

'REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It is with great pain that I address this letter to you; but it is a duty from which I dare not shrink. I have this day finished the careful perusal of your recent volume, and I must call your most serious attention to the variance which, in my judgment, exists between its language and the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England.

'No particular extracts can, as it appears to me, *fully* exhibit this contradiction, because the general tone of your volume is more at variance with the teaching of our Church than those particular extracts themselves to which I must call your attention. Thus, for instance, your language throughout as to the

celebration of the Mass and as to the Eucharist seems to me to contradict the explicit teaching of our Church in her condemnation, in the 28th Article, of the Roman dogma of transubstantiation. Thus, again, your whole tone as to the Church of which you are a minister, seeming as it does to me depreciating and even insulting, implies, more than any special passage, your complete alienation from her, and your addiction to the Roman Communion; whilst the contrast between this language and your unbounded eulogies of the Papal system, and your feeble and diminishing disclaimers of her peculiarities (limited, I think, in your latter journals to her claim of exclusive jurisdiction for the Pope, to her use of prayer in a foreign tongue, and to her denial of the cup to the laity, and expressed feebly and doubtfully as to these), brings my mind painfully to the same conclusion.

‘Yet whilst these are, in my judgment, the worst features of your volume, there are, besides these, special declarations, which I deem directly contradictory of the language of the Thirty-nine Articles; and prepared as I am (believing it to be the righteous intention of the Church) to grant to individual minds a large latitude of statement, it will, I am sure, be evident to you that I cannot allow this liberty to extend to a categorical denial of our dogmatic formularies. I inclose you, therefore, a few of these which I have extracted, and as to each of which I

must require from you either such explanations as shall show that I have mistaken your meaning and that they are reconcileable with the language of the Thirty-nine Articles; or failing that, their unqualified retraction.

‘Failing one or the other of these, nothing will remain for me but to call upon you solemnly, in the name of God, to discontinue that ministry and renounce those emoluments which you exercise and enjoy on the condition of holding articles of religion which you publicly contradict.

‘I shall deliver this letter to you, God willing, on Monday, rather than send it before, since it would make your meeting me at the confirmation, before I have received your answer, painful to us both.

‘I remain,

‘Rev. and dear Sir,

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘S. OXON.

‘THE REV. T. ALLIES.

‘You will be so good as to return the inclosed paper with your reply.’

ARTICLE IX.

‘Original sin . . . is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam.’

‘She most of all, whose most pure substance He took.’—P. 187.

ARTICLE XV.

‘Of Christ *alone* without sin.’
The statement, I conceive, of

‘To whom, by the assumption of *her pure flesh*, Christ was

our own Church would be, that He purified Her nature in taking it; not that Her nature was pure.

brought so inconceivably near.' —P. 335.

ARTICLE XI.

'We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

'If ever any sacrifice was voluntary, it was his; and this notion of making expiation with his blood for his flock seems to have given him supernatural force.'—P. 295.

ARTICLE XIX.

'So also the Church of Rome has erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.'

'It is a matter of discipline merely, of course, or whatever I might be tempted to think of it, I should not so speak.'—P. 344.

'This hierarchy are in possession of a vast body of doctrine. . . . It is uniform, coherent, and systematic. . . .

'As to all which concerns the spiritual life, it has long ago been clearly defined and established. . . . The truth has only come out the more sharply defined from these contests. . . . It is one logical whole. The Church declares in her courts what is *the Faith*.

'This . . . in spiritual matters, is infallibility; without it . . . there would be in the Church no one belief: "it" . . . would be distracted by heresy.' —Pp. 361, 362, 363.

ARTICLE XXII.

‘The (worshipping and) adoration of images, as of reliques and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no certain warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.’

‘Is a fond thing . . . repugnant to the Word of God.’

‘A material miracle wrought before his shrine is a simple exercise of God’s *creative* power, attending, it is true, on the virtue flowing over from our Saviour to his saints, that a malady is removed by the intercession of a saint *whose relics are approached in faith*.’—P. 225.

‘The pre-eminent position of the Blessed Virgin accounted for the effects wrought by her intercession. . . . The communion of saints would account for the answers given to *prayers for the intercession* of the Blessed Virgin.’—P. 300.

‘Shall not we who are engaged in so weary a conflict call upon all saints, and Her especially, to aid and befriend us?’—P. 335.

‘May we not ask you, who dwell in sight of the Eternal Throne, but who once, like ourselves, bore the burden and heat of the day in this earthly wilderness, may we not ask you to turn your regards on us, to intercede for us before Him. . . .

‘Is this derogating from the glory of Christ? What a strange perversion of error which can so esteem it.’—P. 335.

‘The young missionaries make a visit here every evening and pray before these relics of

their brethren, soliciting their intercession; a fitting preparation, I thought, for so difficult a task.'—P. 198.

ARTICLE XXV.

'The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon.'

'Repairing, in the perpetual adoration day and night of the most Holy Sacrament, the wrongs done to the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary.'—P. 212.

'The nun that adores in silence for hours together, one from another taking up that awful watch in the immediate presence of the King of Kings.'—P. 332.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

'The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved or worshipped.'

'We had the privilege of saying our English Office in the chapel where the single lamp marks the presence of the Holy Sacrament.

'How great a blessing is this, that the Lord of the Temple dwells bodily in it!'—P. 174.

'Does not the single lamp burning before the shrine indicate a presence,' &c.—P. 332.

'Or lifted up.'

'The crowd of worshippers that kneel at the blessed yet fearful moment when heaven and earth are united.'—P. 332.

'Or worshipped.'

'It was a most touching sight to see so large a number of sisters and novices in worship together before the Host.'—P. 242

ARTICLE XXXI.

‘The sacrifices of Masses were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.’

‘I assisted at M. Labbé’s mass in the Lady Chapel (p. 25), and so, *passim*, attending mass as a religious service.

‘Every bishop and priest offers daily the tremendous Sacrifice.

‘The Sacrifice of the Mass does not depend on the language by enunciating which it is consummated.’—P. 343.

‘The offering of Christ is that perfect,’ &c., ‘and there is none other satisfaction,’ &c.

‘By day and night it pleads the passion of His Son and the *graces of His saints*.’—P. 126.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

‘Transubstantiation . . . cannot be proved by Holy Writ: but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.’

‘*The doctrine of concomitancy* seems involved in that of the Real Presence.’—P. 344.

I replied as follows :

‘LAUNTON, BICESTER : March 20, 1849.

‘MY LORD,—The letter which I had the honour to receive from your Lordship yesterday, respecting my lately published book, contains what appears to me two grave misapprehensions: the first is that “my whole tone as to the Church of which I am a minister, seeming to you, as it does, depreciating and even insulting, implies even more than any special passage my complete alienation from her;” the second that the same tone implies “my addiction to the Roman communion.” I will take them each in order.

‘1. I must deny that “my tone is depreciating and insulting to the Church of which I am a minister.” On the contrary, I state of the Prayer Book of that Church that it “has the deepest accordance with the Catholic system” (p. 340). Again, in p. 336, quoting the doctrine of the English Church as to the Priesthood, I observe: “here is the whole Catholic doctrine stated.” There is not in the whole volume, unless I am mistaken, anything like “depreciation” or “insult” of what I believe to be the true doctrine of the English Church. There is, however, and this I fully admit, vehement indignation against what I call (p. 350) “not the real system of the Prayer Book, but that which has practically forced its way to a great extent into the pale of the English Church;” which again, in p. 331, I contrast with “the true mind of the English Church, that which forms the basis of the Prayer Book, that of which the Prayer Book faithfully carried out would be the verbal development.” To illustrate what I mean by an example. Your Lordship, at certain solemn times, after invocation of the Holy Spirit, lays your hands upon the head of persons to be ordained, and says to each one, “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.” Now, your Lordship, who so often uses these most

solemn words, would doubtless agree with me that members of the English Church who doubt, and much more who deny, that you do by that act bestow on those ordained Priests, and that they do receive, the power to forgive sins, greatly corrupt and falsify the doctrine of the Church of England. Again, the Church herself in her service for the visitation of the sick requires her priests to "move the sick person to make a special confession of his sins." "After which confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences. And by his authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Now, my indignation throughout my book is directed, where it does appear, against those who deny or put out of sight such momentous doctrines as these, bearing so immediately on every-day practical life. With regard to this system of denial of certain essential parts of Catholic faith and practice it is that I say, "Whether the true *ηθος* of the English Church will ever prevail actually within her, cast out the Puritan virus, and collect and animate the whole body of Catholic truth which her formularies still contain, remains yet to be seen" (p. 331). And p. 339 in like manner: "Here then again we have no new thing

to take up with, but simply to practise what we already solemnly profess." But nowhere that I can find do I depreciate what your Lordship calls "the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England."

'2. With respect to what you say, that the tone throughout my book implies "my addiction to the Roman communion," I would draw your attention to what I say in p. 1: "I am not now expressing an opinion whether the whole Roman system be true or false, pure or corrupt; *I am looking at it simply as a fact.*" Again, at the conclusion of all in p. 356, I observe: "My whole design in the foregoing pages has been to bring before sincere and candid minds *facts* which otherwise might not be presented to their notice," and below, "if under these heads we consider the Roman Church, *taking it merely as a fact* like the British Monarchy." These expressions are the key to my whole book. I am not speaking controversially. It was not the place to enter on the truth of the vast number of facts and principles which I pass under review. I do not, for instance, always answer the arguments addressed to me in conversation: that is no proof that I assent to them, or that I do not assent to them. On one most important point which lies at the basis of the whole separation between ourselves and Rome I have spoken, and that controversially, and at great length, in another work. I have defended the Church of England to the best of my ability, and until I with-

draw that defence no one, I humbly submit, has a right to impute to me that I am disloyal to the Church of England.

‘I should add that under this word *facts* I comprise the exhibition *from the Roman point of view* of certain doctrines such as the Incarnation, the Real Presence, and the Intercession of Saints, and the acts of devotion attending on them, without which exhibition *in that one point of view in which they are regarded by those who hold them*, no portrait of Roman Catholic belief would be correct, nor any future harmonising of dogma and reunion of Christendom be practicable. Now, this exhibition it is which appears to be painful to your Lordship ; and I will therefore illustrate further my view in thus putting before people *facts* concerning the Church of Rome, by your Lordship’s own conduct. You are wont to throw yourself by an act of charity into the point of view of those members of our Church who deny Baptismal Regeneration. You conceive that they mean by Regeneration, when they so deny it, not what the Church means, but conversion. Now, if it is an act of charity to suppose that men otherwise earnest and pious do not mean to deny a fundamental article of the Christian Faith, and one, moreover, to which they have given their own most solemn consent, surely it is an act of charity likewise to suppose that great saints were not idolaters, and that those who give themselves up to livelong acts of mercy to their brethren have at the same time an enlightened faith.

‘Lastly, the threatening tone of the conclusion of your Lordship’s letter precludes me from entering in private on those particular points of doctrine to which your Lordship calls my attention in another paper. It may be sufficient generally to say that your Lordship sees in them an antagonism which to my mind does not exist. To take, for instance, the first. You object to my words respecting the Blessed Virgin, “She most of all whose *most pure* substance He took,” and “to whom by the assumption of *her pure flesh* Christ was brought so inconceivably near,” whereas this appears to me the precise doctrine of the Church in the collect for the Nativity, “Almighty God, who hast given Thine only Begotten Son to take our nature upon Him, and as at this time to be born of *a pure virgin*,” and to take our nature, as we learn by the Preface in the Communion Service, by being “made very Man of the substance of the Virgin Mary His Mother.” Or, again, I do not see this antagonism as to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which would seem to follow by necessary logical sequence from the very dogmatic teaching which the Church imparts to the young. “What is the inward part (of the Lord’s Supper) or thing signified? The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.” And so on.

‘Trusting that your Lordship, on further consideration of my volume, will see that you have misappre-

hended its drift and bearing in these important points, I have the honour to be, my Lord,

‘Your Lordship’s dutiful servant in Christ,

‘THOS. W. ALLIES.

‘THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.’

The Bishop rejoined in the following :

CUDDESDON PALACE : March 24, 1849.

‘REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It gives me much pain to be obliged to say to you that your reply to my last letter has been most unsatisfactory to me. Before I wrote to you I had carefully noted all the passages to which you refer me; and had formed my estimate of the real tone of your work with them in my mind. They seem to me to amount to no more than assertions of your affection to the Prayer Book, if it is interpreted according to your own opinion. The part of my communication which needed the most direct reply you have left almost untouched, under the allegation that my letter closes with a threat. I think that if you look again at it, you will perceive that it contains nothing but a declaration that if you cannot show that your statements do not contradict the Articles, and will not retract them, I shall appeal to your own conscience as to whether it is honest to maintain your position as a paid teacher of doctrines you formally deny.

‘To this part of my letter I must then recall your attention—I have laid before you a set of passages,

expressing *your own conclusions*, which appear to me to contradict the dogmatic teaching of the Articles. You reply only as to two of these. As to the first, I gladly accept your assurance that you meant nothing more than is meant by the expression "pure" or chaste "Virgin" in our collect. I only regret that your language should have been such as to suggest to my mind a wholly different sense; or what in a recent Encyclical letter is called "The pious opinion that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without the original stain." Your answer to my second objection quite misses the point really in question. I quote words of yours which seem to assert a bodily presence of Our Lord in the Holy Sacrament, and these, without further explanation, you allege are justified by the assertion in our Catechism of His *spiritual* presence. To my quotations of passages in which you justify (1) "the adoration of the Holy Sacrament," though it is distinctly condemned in the Articles and in the dogmatic statement appended to our Communion office; (2) the invocation of Saints; (3) the use of relics, &c., you say nothing. You cannot, I conceive, acknowledge the authority of my office, without allowing that you are bound, on my requiring it, as I again do, to explain, justify, or retract distinct passages in your published work against which I except as directly contradicting the letter and spirit of our Articles and Formularies.

‘I now require once more from you such explanation, justification, or retraction—and I require you to deal directly and honestly with my charge. You must, I think, perceive the difference between condemning others of idolatry, of which you speak as if I required you to do that, and justifying your own adoption for yourself of these statements, though those statements are condemned by our Church.

‘Nothing but Truth is dearer to me than Peace ; and I shall therefore be heartily rejoiced by your freeing yourself from the imputation which your published words seem to me to cast upon you.

‘I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

‘Very truly yours,

‘S. OXON.

‘THE REV. T. ALLIES.’

This was my reply to the Bishop’s second letter:

‘LAUNTON RECTORY, BICESTER: March 27, 1849.

‘MY LORD,—Since your Lordship’s first letter I have inquired from the best authorities whether I am obliged to answer any questions which your Lordship may think proper to put to me in the manner you have done. I am told that there is no such obligation on my part any more than there is authority to require on yours. I might therefore simply decline to enter further into these questions *in this manner*. But your Lordship assures me that you write to me *amicably*, for the purpose of appeal-

ing to my conscience. Now, as my conscience has not the smallest difficulty about the matter—as it sees no contrariety whatever between anything that I have written and the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England—as I do not desire *peace in truth* less than your Lordship—and as I should most deeply regret not doing everything which lies in my power to show respect for your Lordship's high and Apostolical office, even beyond what you can *require* of me—I will proceed to lay before your Lordship certain testimonies from divines of the Anglican Church on the three points which you allege against me. These are :

- '1. "The adoration of the Holy Sacrament."
- '2. "The invocation of Saints."
- '3. "The use of Relics, &c."

'1. On the Adoration of the Holy Sacrament I find the following :

'*á.* Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Professor of Hebrew in Christ Church, says :

"Christ in the Eucharist is to be adored with divine worship, inasmuch as His living and glorified Body is present therein."

'And again : "Those rigid Protestants who deny that we should adore Christ in the Eucharist, or say that we should only adore Him internally and mentally, not with any external sign of adoration, such

as bending the kneé, or some other bodily movement, are guilty of a monstrous error. Such persons are commonly heterodox on the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Sacrament altogether. To condemn as unlawful that external adoration, which *all Christians, from the very time of the Apostles*, have paid in receiving the Eucharist, is the very extreme of rashness and presumption" ("Consid. Modest." p. 440 and p. 438).

'*β*. Herbert Thorndike says :

"It is not *necessarily* the same thing to worship *Christ in the Sacrament*, as to worship *the sacrament of the Eucharist*; yet in the sense which reason of itself justifieth, it is. For the Sacrament of the Eucharist is neither the visible kind, nor the invisible grace of Christ's Body and Blood (separately), but *the union of both*. So that he who worships the one, worships the other: he who worships *Christ in the Sacrament* (the invisible grace) worships the Sacrament (the visible kind)" ("Epilogue," p. 352).

'And again: "I suppose that *the Body and Blood of Christ may be adored, wheresoever they are, and must be adored by a good Christian* where the custom of the Church requires it; adored in consideration of the Godhead, to which it remains inseparably united. The Body and Blood of Christ is necessarily to be honoured, because necessarily united to that which is honoured, viz., the Godhead. *And the pre-*

sence thereof in the Sacrament of the Eucharist is a just occasion to express by the bodily act of adoration that inward honour. I do believe that it was so practised and done in the Ancient Church" ("Epilogue," iii. p. 350).

‘γ/. And Bishop Taylor :

“ Let us receive the consecrated elements with all devotion of body and spirit, and do this honour to It, that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink that day ; and that your body and soul be prepared for its reception with abstinence from secular pleasures, that you may better have attended fastings and preparatory prayers.”

‘ Again : “ Place thyself upon thy knees in the devoutest and the humblest posture of worshippers, and think it not much in the lowest manner to worship the King of men and angels, the Lord of heaven and earth, the great lover of souls, and the Saviour of the body, Him whom all the Angels of God worship. . . . For if Christ be not there after a peculiar manner, whose Body do we receive ? But if He be present, not in mystery only, but in blessing also, why do we not worship ? But all the Christians *always did so* from time immemorial. ‘ No man eats this flesh unless he first adores,’ said St. Austin, ‘ for the wise men and barbarians did worship this Body in the manger with very much fear and reverence. Let us, therefore, who are citizens of heaven, at least not fall

short of the barbarians. But thou seest Him not now in the manger, but on the altar; thou beholdest him not in the Virgin's arms, but represented by the Priest, and brought to thee in Sacrifice by the Holy Spirit of God.' So St. Chrysostom argues" ("Worthy Communicant," ch. 7, 10).

'δ. Bishop Beveridge writes thus ("Necessity of Frequent Communion," p. 107): "How can I by faith behold my Saviour coming unto me, and offering to me His own Body and Blood, and not fall down and worship Him?"

'ε'. Dean Jackson says:

"Must we then say that Christ is really present in the Sacrament as well to the unworthy as to the faithful receivers? *Yes; this we must grant*: yet we must add withal that He is really present with them in a quite contrary manner: really present He is because virtually present to both; because the operation or efficacy of His Body and Blood is not metaphorical, but real in both" (Book xi. c. 4).

'2. The Invocation of Saints.

'α'. Bishop Latimer (*apud* Foxe) writes as follows:

"Take Saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them, I never denied but they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so

Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us), yet by way of intercession."

'β'. Bishop Montague writes as follows:

"I see no absurdity in nature, no incongruity unto analogy of faith, no repugnancy at all to Sacred Scripture, much less impiety, for any man to say, 'O sancte angele custos, ora pro me.'" In like manner he defends the Virgin Justine mentioned by S. Gregory Nazianzen as imploring the help of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and says that "against such a manner of invoking Saints, joined with faith in Christ, he would not contend" (Forbes, "Consid. Modest." p. 327).

'γ'. Thorndike writes thus:

"The second kind of invocations is the 'ora pro nobis,' and the 'te rogamus audi nos,' directly addressed to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints." Of this kind he pronounces that "it is not idolatry;" and that the greatest "lights of the Greek and Latin Church, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, both the Cyrils, Theodoret, Fulgentius, Gregory the Great, and Leo, &c., who lived from the time of Constantine, have all of them spoken to the Saints departed and desired their assistance."

'δ'. Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, has exhausted the whole subject in his book entitled "Considerationes Modestæ," &c. The third chapter of his

treatise is devoted to prove the following proposition:—

“The mere invocation or addressing of Angels and Saints, asking them to join us in praying, and to intercede for us to God, is neither to be condemned as unlawful, nor as useless” (p. 299).

‘And, before bringing an overwhelming mass of testimony from the Protestants themselves, he concludes thus :

“In fine, for very many ages now past, throughout the Universal Church, in the East no less than in the West, and in the North also among the Muscovites, it is a received usage to sing ‘St. Peter, &c., pray for us;’ but to despise or condemn the universal consent of the whole Church is most dangerous presumption” (p. 322).

‘ε’. The same Bishop, among other admissions of later times, quotes with approbation the following from a book entitled “*Pia et Catholica Christiani Hominis Institutio*,” in English and Latin, put forth by the Bishops of the Church of England in the year 1537, and afterwards again in the year 1543 (the Latin in 1544), and never hitherto retracted or condemned:—

“To pray unto Saints to be intercessors with us and for us to our Lord in our suits which we make unto Him, and for such things as we can obtain of none but Him, so that we esteem not, or worship not

them as givers of those gifts, but as intercessors for the same, is received and approved by the most ancient and perpetual use of the Catholic Church ; but if we honour them any other ways than as the friends of God, dwelling with Him, and established now in His glory everlasting, and as examples which were requisite for us to follow in holy life and conversation, or if we yield unto Saints the adoration and honour which is due unto God alone, we do, no doubt, break the commandment."

'3. The use of Relics, &c.

'α'. The calendar of the English Church still commemorates on certain days the discovery of Relics and their Translations ; as May 3, the Invention of the Cross by the Empress St. Helena ; June 20, the Translation of the Relics of St. Edward ; July 4, the Translation of those of St. Martin ; September 14, the Holy Cross ; &c.

'β'. In the Book of Homilies it is stated :

"It is testified that ' Epiphanius being yet alive did work miracles ; and that after his death devils being expelled at his tomb did roar ' " (p. 159).

'γ'. Hooker, among other " Considerations for which Christian Churches rightly took their names at the first from Saints," states this, that in respect of certain places, " It pleased God by the ministry of Saints to show there some rare effect of his power " (" Ecc. P.," 5. 13. 3).

‘δ’. Bishop Andrewes says :

“For Relics, were we sure they were true and uncounterfeit, we would carry to them the regard that becometh us” (“Resp. ad Card. Perron.”).

‘ε’. Bishop Montague says :

“Their Relics, remains and memorials, and whatsoever there be of that kind genuine and uncounterfeit . . . we most willingly receive, and are ready to pay them that due and proper veneration which belong to them. So let only this be attended to, and we shall easily agree upon the veneration of the Relics of the Saints” (“Orig. Ecc.,” vol. i. p. 39).

‘Again : “They inclosed the bones of the Saints, their ashes and Relics, in golden cists, and wrapped them in precious stuffs. And assuredly I, for one, will with Constantine wrap those Relics in stuffs, will set them in gold, to carry about; I will raise them to my lips, and hang them around my neck, and continually look upon and handle them” (“Antidial.,” p. 17).

‘ς’. Thorndike says :

“We believe that we are most sincerely to honour the bodies of the Saints, specially the Relics of the Martyrs. If any man do otherwise, he is no Christian, but a follower of Eunomius and Vigilantius . . . Nay, though St. Jerome says that those poor women, who lighted candles in honour of them, ‘had a zeal of God not according to knowledge,’ yet why should

this seem an unfit ceremony? If *Vigilantius* could not endure this, *I cannot endure Vigilantius*" ("Epilogue III.," p. 360).

‘ζ. Bishop Bull ("Def. Fid. Nic." 2. 12. 2), speaking of the exposition of faith which is said to have been revealed to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus by an apparition of the Blessed Virgin with St. John, observes that: "It ought not to seem incredible to any man that such an incident should have happened to such a man; of whom we are assured by all ecclesiastical writers who have mentioned him, (and who is there that has not mentioned him?) by all, I say, with one consent, and, as it were, with one mouth, that his whole life was filled with notable revelations and miracles."

‘η. Bishop Hall, in his treatise "Of the Invisible World":

“The trade that we have with good spirits is not now discerned by the eye, but is like to themselves, spiritual; yet not so, but that even in bodily occasions we have many times insensible helps from them in such manner, as that by the effects we can boldly say, ‘Here hath been an Angel, though we see him not.’ Of this kind was that no less than miraculous cure, which at St. Madern’s in Cornwall was wrought upon a poor cripple, John Trelille, whereof (besides the attestation of many hundreds of the neighbours) I took a strict and personal examination in that last

visitation which I ever did or ever shall hold. This man, that for sixteen years together was fain to walk upon his hands, by reason of the close contraction of the sinews of his legs, upon three monitions in his dream to wash in that well, was suddenly so restored to his limbs, that I saw him able to walk and get his own maintenance. I found here was neither art nor collusion; the thing done, the author invisible" (Lib. i. § 8).

'9'. In like manner Bishop Montague, while speaking of the Sign of the Cross, and saying that he "could tell some experimental effects thereof, some experimental effects of his own knowledge," adds, that even though miracles have in some sense ceased, yet in another sense they may well be thought so far to remain "that God both can, and may, and will, and doth sometimes work miracles even in these days" ("Appeal," p. 275, &c.).

'I have now, therefore, met your Lordship's charge face to face, fully considered it, and shown you persons of high name and office in our Church, names as distinguished and office as high as your own, who, like me, have signed the Articles, and who have put forward stronger assertions on these three points: 1, the adoration of the Holy Sacrament; 2, the Invocation of Saints; 3, the use of Relics; than any which occur in my book. I know not why any son of the Church of England should abdicate a liberty

which they have exercised: I know not any power in a bishop of the Church of England to censure a priest for doing what they have done. But there is one additional reason why I should most respectfully, but yet most solemnly, appeal to your Lordship to act towards me with the same equitable consideration which you exert towards others of a very different belief. Some time ago I felt it to be a duty, peculiarly irksome and invidious, but yet necessary, to bring before your Lordship in the most public manner, by appealing to your judgment at a *ruri-decanal* meeting, these two propositions as put into the public papers with the subscription of a beneficed clergyman in your Lordship's diocese, and openly maintained by him:—

‘1. “Ungodly persons have neither been born again of the Spirit, nor justified, although they were baptised in infancy, but remain in an unpardoned state, exposed to the wrath of God; and unless they be born again of the Spirit, and obtain saving faith in Christ, they must perish.”

‘2. “There is no scriptural authority for affirming that our Lord is present with his people at the Lord's Supper in any other manner than that in which He is present with them whenever they meet together in his name (*Matt. xviii. 20*), and His body and blood are verily and indeed taken and received by them at that ordinance by faith, just as they are verily and indeed

taken and received by them whenever they exercise faith in His atoning sacrifice, so that the imagination of any bodily presence, or of any other presence effected by the consecration of the elements, is unscriptural and erroneous."

'Believing, as I then stated to your Lordship, that the above two propositions "amounted to the most formal heresy, and tended to destroy the very being of the Church of Christ, and, more particularly, expressly contradicted the letter and the spirit of the formularies of the Church of England," I called upon your Lordship as my Bishop, Spiritual Father, and Judge, to declare whether the above propositions were, or were not, contradictory to the formularies of the Church of England, and whether they might be lawfully maintained and taught by a minister of the Church of England.

'Your Lordship, in answer, put aside my appeal, would reply to none of my questions, termed indeed the propositions "objectionable," and had a correspondence with the gentleman holding them, in which you expressed your objection to them; but he was never called upon publicly to give them up, nor has he done so, so far as I am aware; and in one of your letters to me you observe on them, "The Church has defined these doctrines in her liturgy and Articles, these definitions are to us the test of soundness; and against those who subscribe them with a solemn declaration that they do so sincerely

and *ex animo*, I do not think that proceedings can be taken."

'I ask you, very respectfully, why you should deal in a different spirit towards me? Why, before even hearing what I have to say, you should express your intention in a certain contingency (the happening of which you had no right to assume), "to call upon me solemnly in the name of God to discontinue that ministry, and renounce those emoluments, which I exercise and enjoy on condition of holding articles of religion which I publicly contradict"?'

'As to what your Lordship says that "you accept my assurance that I meant nothing more than is meant by the expression 'pure' or 'chaste' virgin," as applied to the Blessed Virgin in the collect, I must observe that the words "or chaste" are put in by your Lordship, and that I said nothing which could lead any one to suppose that the word "pure" was regarded by me as merely synonymous with "chaste." In fact I conceive that the word virgin carries the notion of chastity in itself.

'I have the honour to be, my Lord,

'Your Lordship's dutiful servant in Christ,

'THOS. W. ALLIES.

'THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.'

As my second letter did not satisfy the Bishop, he wrote to me, thirdly, thus:—

‘CUDDESDON PALACE: April 9, 1849.

‘REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It gives me much pain to be obliged again to express to you my dissatisfaction with your last letter.

‘It would not, I think, be difficult to show that the passages you have quoted in justification of your own statements either do not apply to the matter before us, or taken in their full context do not fairly bear the meaning you put on them, or are from writers who are of no authority on this subject.

‘But I take a higher objection to the line of defence you have adopted. My charge against you is that your words directly contravene the plain letter of the Thirty-nine Articles. A catena from other writers is no answer to this charge. The letter and grammatical meaning of the Articles themselves is that to which your statements must be referred.

‘I therefore deem it useless to enter further with you on the subject in the way of argument. But you will, I think, see that I cannot with a clear conscience allow doctrine which I judge directly to contravene the Articles on important points to be publicly put forth by one of my presbyters without my taking notice of his conduct.

‘At the same time I am most anxious to avoid, if possible, the scandal and the pain of calling you

into a court of law. Neither do I desire myself to dogmatise. I therefore make you the following offer.

‘Will you engage to submit yourself to my judgment in this matter, if, on referring your book, and the letters which have passed between us, either 1, to the Archbishop of the Province; or (if you prefer the judgment of your brother presbyters) to 2, the Regius Professors of Divinity, Pastoral Theology, and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, with the request that they will give me in writing their judgment as to *the fact* whether your statements do or do not contradict the Thirty-nine Articles or any of them, I receive their written confirmation of my own judgment upon this point?

‘I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

‘Yours very faithfully,

‘S. OXON.

‘The REV. T. ALLIES.’

As I had not at once responded to No. 3, the Bishop wrote to quicken me, thus:—

‘LONDON: April 23, 1849.

‘REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Feeling the importance of the decision to which you came (*sic*) upon the proposition laid before you in my last letter, I have waited your own time for your reply. But as it is now a fortnight since I despatched that letter I cannot feel that I am wrongly pressing you for a decision

when I say that I think the time is arrived at which I ought to receive your answer.

‘I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

‘Very truly yours,

‘S. OXON.

‘The REV. T. ALLIES.’

My final reply was this:—

‘7 MARINE PARADE, BRIGHTON:

‘St. Mark’s Day, 1849.

‘MY LORD,—I thank your Lordship for the offer contained in your letter of the 9th, as plainly evidencing your desire to avoid a public trial, which would be equally painful to us both.

‘I also quite admit that “the letter and grammatical meaning of the Articles themselves is that to which my statements must be referred.”

‘I feel unable, however, to accept in either alternative the offer your Lordship makes me, for the following reason: To decide whether my statements are or are not agreeable to the letter and meaning of the Articles, would be in fact to decide what the sense of the Articles is on certain disputed points. This is a matter which for three centuries has been left open by the Church of England; and I feel that it would not be right to accept a particular sense put upon those Articles from any individuals (however fitted by station or qualification to give a judgment) nor from any authority short of the Church of

England herself, either assembled in Synod or represented in her courts of law; especially as a decision either way must produce an extensive and lasting effect on the Church herself.

‘For instance, I conceive that no authority short of the Church of England herself can determine what is the precise sense of the 22nd and 31st Articles, which are those on which the question would mainly turn. The sense of those Articles, which entirely approves itself to my conscience, is one entirely compatible with all the statements of my book. Others might form a different judgment, but, in refusing to be bound by their judgment, while I respected it as far as they themselves were concerned, I should, I conceive, only be using the liberty which the Church of England has given to her children.

‘It may here be proper, for your Lordship’s satisfaction, to state the sense in which I do subscribe the Articles. I subscribe them, then, in their literal and grammatical sense, interpreting them, in due subordination to this, according to the canon of the Council which imposed them, and which I consider as the rule or type of the English Church: “Let preachers take care that they never teach anything to be religiously held and believed by the people, save what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have deduced from that very doctrine.”

[o]

‘I subscribe them *not* as articles of *faith* (save as to those matters contained in them which are likewise contained in the Creeds), but as articles of *peace*, for the following reasons:—

‘1. Because it is not lawful or competent for any particular province of the Church to enact fresh and peculiar articles of faith, as Bishop Hall, quoted by Bishop Bull in his “Catholic Propositions,” denies in general “that any Church can lawfully propose any articles to her sons besides those contained in the common rule of faith to be believed under pain of damnation.”

‘2. Because the form and structure of the Articles themselves, save of the first five, prove that they are not intended for articles of *faith*, but for practical canons suited to a particular Church under special circumstances.

‘3. Because the Church of England does not require any lay person to subscribe them, which, were they articles of *faith*, she must require.

‘4. Because bishops of the highest eminence have declared that they are not subscribed as articles of *faith*, but as articles of *peace*. Thus Bishop Bull quotes Archbishop Usher as “expressing the sense of the Church of England as to the subscription required to the Thirty-nine Articles” in the following words: “We do not suffer any man to reject the

Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and his Apostles; but in a mean, as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation of peace and unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them." Archbishop Bramhall quotes these same words in controversy, and makes them his own. And contrasting the *subscription* to the Thirty-nine Articles with the obligation to *believe* the creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, he observes: "We do not hold our Thirty-nine Articles to be such necessary truth 'extra quam non est salus,' nor enjoin ecclesiastic persons to swear unto them, but only to subscribe them as theological truths for the preservation of unity among us, and the extirpation of some growing errors." And Bishop Patrick writes: "I always took the Articles to be only articles of communion; and so Bishop Bramhall expressly maintains against the Bishop of Chalcedon; and I remember well that Bishop Sanderson, when the King was first restored, received the subscription of an acquaintance of mine, which he declared was not to them as articles of faith, but peace. I think you need make no scruple of the matter, because all that I know so understand the meaning of subscription, and upon other terms would not subscribe" (Letter to Dr. Mapletoft).

'This therefore reduces the question to a single

point, whether I have in any statement contradicted the literal and grammatical meaning of any Article. Your Lordship considers that I have. I feel convinced that I have not; but the Church of England alone, and no individual, can decide the point; for such decision will fix a certain sense on particular Articles, which at present is not fixed on them.

‘I have the honour to be, my Lord,

‘Your Lordship’s dutiful servant in Christ,

‘THOS. W. ALLIES.

‘P.S.—I shall probably be detained here a week by the state of Mrs. Allies’ health.’

The letters of the Bishop, given above, may be compared with those he wrote to Dr. Hampden, as given in the first volume of his life, just published. In the one case he appears soft, sleek, and silky, as is seemly in approaching a Queen’s nominee: in the other, he is prompt and bristling, as a guardsman eager to cut down a rebel who is running a-muck. His letters did not persuade me. I knew no particulars about his action in the Hampden business. It was believed that he had written a remonstrance to the Queen against his appointment as a bishop, and had afterwards withdrawn it. I disliked him for the latter act more than I respected him for the former. In truth, these letters from a man made a bishop by mere Court favour, who, while he denied the Real Presence, assumed the tone of an apostle,

made me lose all respect for him, and thenceforth I was wont, in consequence of his words about the Blessed Virgin, to call him *Vigilantius*, after a heretic of the fourth century, who attacked the honour of our Blessed Lady, and fell under the lash of S. Jerome. What to me was the authority of such a man (even if he had Archbishop Sumner and Bishop Blomfield at his back) quoting his interpretation of an Anglican Article, when the Liturgies of the East and West, and the Fathers at every page, bore witness to the tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice? and the more when he had written to me two years before that I was in the snare of the devil because I urged upon him to pronounce whether the Church of England allowed the utter denial of her two sacraments, while he suffered that denial to go on unrebuked in his diocese. The tone he assumed with me was the more intolerable, because I felt that my hold on doctrine was stronger than his. I had the whole ancient Church behind me: he had Cranmer and Elizabeth Boleyn.

The result of the correspondence, then, was that the Bishop, finding he could get no concession from me, was about—April 27—to put my book for judgment into the Ecclesiastical Court. At this point a great friend of us both, the late Mr. Baron Alderson, intervened. Another fight ensued in London, which lasted ten days. Dr. Pusey, Archdeacon Manning, Judges Alderson and Coleridge, Mr. Upton Richards,

Bishop Forbes of Brechin, were more or less engaged in this. The contest continued till July, and nearly wore us all out. In this affair Dr. Pusey appeared to me squeezable to anything in order to prevent matters being brought to an issue. His conduct much lessened my opinion of him. I was not quite satisfied with any one of my defenders, but in the Bishop I could recognise neither the judicial mind nor the fatherly spirit. I believe it consummated my contempt for the Anglican Episcopate. All this while my wife was worried to the last degree, and at the end of it I believe she had no respect left for Anglicanism. The effect was much the same on Wynne.

On April 16 I had taken my wife to Brighton, weak from influenza. We returned to Launton, May 12, but the worry about the 'Journal' lasted from March 19 to July, and as soon as it was really gone by, I deposited my wife, Basil, and Cyril at Lowestoft, near the Aldersons, and started myself with Wynne for Rome and Naples. This tour occupied me from July 26 to September 15. I attribute so far as human means go, and in the order of second causes, the conversion of my wife to the effects produced by the publication of my 'Journal'—not merely to the persecution, but to the inward view of the want of principle, and the uncertainty as to doctrines, generally, besides the temper in the Bishop of Oxford and his advisers, Dr. Sumner and Dr. Blomfield, and the extreme *wretchedness* on all sides which it disclosed. It left her not a stick

for the affections to rest upon in the Anglican communion. For myself, I was within an ace of being expelled by a prosecution. I cannot doubt, with the revelations of the year 1850 before me, that such would have been the result, had the matter gone into court. And yet the persons around me did not pretend that I had made false statements as to doctrine, but they simply shrank from maintaining at all costs what they believed; and not one would encourage me to abide the prosecution. In the last interview, when I was very near refusing to come to any terms, Dr. Pusey cried with vexation. Otherwise, my own spirit was fully roused, and I was far enough from proposing to allow myself to be *driven* out by a man of two weights and two measures like Dr. Samuel Wilberforce. My friend W. Palmer, in his usual lapidary style, defined him to be a 'Puritan Syncretist.' I had, I know not why, conceived him to be a strong Churchman. As a fact, I never could find any solid core of truth in him, in his conduct to me. I speak of him as I found him in the years 1845-50, when I lived under what I will not call his crosier, but his stick. He had taken it from the civil ruler, and was bent on having it thought a crosier; but to me he used it as a pasha, simply for the bastinado. And not being exactly made for a slave, I never conceived so great an antipathy for anyone as for this brandisher of episcopal authority. I think he must have struck

others so in after time, for, if my memory does not deceive me, the late Lord Derby once looked at him in the House of Lords, and when he said 'I only smiled,' retorted 'A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain.' However this may be, in looking back I am heartily glad that my departure the next year was due to an act of simple free-will, made when all difficulties had been removed in the maturity of judgment. These were preparatory blows. But the *mere* wretchedness of Anglicanism did not prove Catholicism to be right, and it was, I believe, exactly in this state of mind, and with a special desire of presenting my 'Journal,' thus reprobated by my own bishop, to the real Bishop of bishops, and of wiping off, in the waters of the Fountain of Trevi, the soil of the conflict, and with a longing to kneel at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, and to ask the intercession of all the Saints whose shrines I should approach, that I went once more abroad, with a strong presentiment also that it would be my last visit for some time.

It should be observed that no continued study was prosecuted during this contest: the utter uncertainty of the future, besides continual interruptions and absence from home, made it impossible.

The great cause of irritation in this business was the extreme unfairness of the course pursued towards one section of the Anglican communion compared with that pursued towards the other. Every possible

liberty as to decrying of Sacraments and the sacramental system, as to putting forth their own purely Protestant notions, as to scurrilous abuse and misrepresentation of Rome on the one side, was borne very patiently, to say the least, if not encouraged, by the episcopal bench—while the first attempt to state the case fairly, to bring into light the instances of charity in the Roman Church which had come under the writer's own notice, to remove prejudice, and to clear away misrepresentations, was viewed as a mortal offence against the Anglican Church. And this, too, had the air of being done at the beck and bidding of the Protestant press. Nor was it the least remembered that the writer had most earnestly defended his own communion on Church principles. Thus the one moral drawn from the whole proceeding was, that there was only one heresy known and recognised in the Anglican Church, namely, praise of the Church of Rome; and that, provided a man stuck cordially to the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and denounced the Pope as the Man of Sin, he might disbelieve of Church doctrines whatsoever he pleased. Thus the whole effect was not only galling to the persons immediately concerned, but damaging to the whole Puseyite party. Probably what kept back Dr. Wilberforce from prosecuting was regard to his own brother and brother-in-law, for it appeared in the course of the conflict that he could not have punished me without reaching them;

to which must be added the certainty that many more would be affected. These same reasons induced the Primate and the Bishop of London to content themselves with anything which they could present to the hungry and blatant monster behind their backs as a sort of submission. The utmost at last that I was brought to consent to, was a letter to the Bishop regretting that anything I had published *should appear to him* to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, to which I declared my adherence in their plain literal and grammatical sense, and an engagement not to publish a second edition. Somebody—I know not to this day who it was, but I think it was Dr. Pusey—had bought up all the remaining copies of the book, in order that this arrangement might be carried out. I so utterly distrusted Dr. Wilberforce, I so expected that he would declare to his diocese and the press that I had regretted having published *not what appeared to him* but what *was* contrary to the Articles, that I insisted on a statement signed by the then Archdeacon Manning, and Mr. Baron Alderson, which I still have, which limits most closely the meaning of what was done.

The result, as he then thought, of the conflict with Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, was summed up in characteristic fashion by Mr. Baron Alderson in the following epigram, to understand which those of another generation need reminding that Sir Herbert Jenner Fust was then the Judge of the Court of

Arches, and that Dr. Phillpotts had just been prosecuting the Rev. Mr. Shore.

THE TWO BISHOPS—A CONTRAST.

Bluff Exeter employs the wood,
‘Docet per Fust-em’ till they roar ;
His diocese is like the Flood,
A widespread See without a Shore.
But Oxford merits higher praise
By using power to gentler ends,
Converting by his winning ways
Doubtful Allies to real friends.

Cardinal Manning kindly allows me to publish the following letter which he then addressed to Bishop Wilberforce :—

‘44 CADOGAN PLACE: May 16, 1849.

‘MY DEAREST BISHOP,—Allies has sent me the inclosed letter to forward to you: and in doing so I wish to say a few words on this matter in which you have so kindly allowed me to communicate with you.

‘In the letter I wrote to you from Lavington, I said that there are in Allies’ book things I wish out, and things I wish otherwise. I may add that it is not exempt from criticism, to which every book is liable. But upon the main question at issue I am thoroughly convinced :

‘1. That it contains no Roman doctrine properly so called.

‘2. That it contains no proposition or word contrary to the Catholic Faith.

‘3. That it contains no doctrinal statement at variance with the Thirty-nine Articles.

‘ In language, sentiment, and opinion there may be parts which, in the present state of feeling, in the present disorder of our ecclesiastical courts, and the present confusion of our theological interpretations, might give occasion to an adverse judgment.

‘ But I believe that such a judgment would put not so much Allies’ book in opposition to the Thirty-nine Articles, as the Thirty-nine Articles, and the living Church of England, in opposition to the faith of the whole Church both East and West, according to Bishop Ken’s rule, and from the beginning.

‘ It is not, therefore, Allies’ book, nor Allies himself, that is alone at stake.

‘ I have his repeated and express declaration, both by word and writing, that he does not hold any doctrine in which the Roman Church differs from the East and from ourselves, but that his agreements with Rome are in points of faith where Rome agrees with all alike.

‘ His statements on the Roman Supremacy and on Transubstantiation are full evidence on these cardinal points.

‘ Indeed, the whole book he has published in defence of the Church of England against the charge of schism is direct and continuous proof throughout. And it is a work which, so far as I know, stands alone for completeness, honesty, and truth.

‘ Any judgment against Allies upon the language of his journal, these facts standing, would be a manifest injustice.

‘The case would be this :—He disavows Roman doctrine : he has (let it be said) used language which may be urged by special rigour up to an appearance of opposition to the Thirty-nine Articles in some matter not of faith, but the condemnation would have the effect of declaring him and his book to be Roman. It is from this wrong I have desired to protect him, so far as I have been able, both for his own sake, and because I believe it would be a wrong the effects of which would recoil on the Church of England, as a Catholic body, in the face of all the Church.

‘May I now add one word as to what my wishes would have been and still are in this matter ?

‘I could have earnestly desired that no written document at all had passed : that you, as his bishop, should have expressed your judgment, and he in his turn have answered, “ Then I will publish no further edition,”’ &c., &c.

Before I passed from this subject, I determined not to trust to memory only, but to read the correspondence which then took place, and which I had not looked at for four years. Having just done so, I must repeat the judgment given in the page above, that the great cause for irritation was the extreme *unfairness* of the course pursued. *Otherwise*, that is, simply taking the passages in my ‘Journal’ quoted by the Bishop, they certainly appear to me irreconcilable with the letter, and still more with the spirit, of the Anglican Articles. Throughout I do not attempt to

grapple with his strong point, which is this. The real defence must be based, as indeed it was by me, on the latitude allowed to the other side. It was atrocious, no doubt, in anyone who professed to believe in the ecclesiastical system, to pass over such propositions on Baptism and the Holy Eucharist as those publicly put forward by Mr. Watts and his friends, while he attempted to punish me for statements moderate *in comparison* on my side. But then the Bishop was faithful in this to the living spirit and almost universal bias of the Anglican Church, and I was fighting a desperate battle against it. I can see, moreover, one confusion running through my whole mind. I assumed that, because a thing was true, ancient, and Catholic, therefore it was held by the Anglican Church. I was pursuing what was true, ancient, and Catholic, thinking this the point at issue; but the real point at issue was, whether what I considered true, ancient, and Catholic, *was tenable by the Anglican formularies*. The Bishop dealt with this one thing, and would not let it go, and here he had a real advantage over me. The four doctrines which he declared to be incompatible with the Anglican Articles were—1. The Adoration of the Eucharist. 2. The Invocation of Saints. 3. The Worshipping of Relics. 4. The Immaculate Conception. I make no doubt whatever that he would have got a judgment against me on all these points, and I much regret that an authori-

tative decision on the first three of them has not taken place in the Anglican Communion. It might unseal many eyes.

The burning anger which I felt in this proceeding of the Bishop of Oxford against me was that I had myself solemnly appealed to him for justice in the case of one of his clergy, my own neighbour, who utterly denied the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and having so appealed, had been put aside, and the Sacraments left defenceless, not to mention that my attempt at maintaining orthodoxy had been ascribed to devilish pride; while now, on the contrary, he was for proceeding by the strictest letter of the law against me for minor infringements of the Articles on the Catholic side. Certainly I was bound to draw the conclusion that the one unforgiven sin, the one inextinguishable heresy, in Anglicanism, was praise of its mighty antagonist. What mattered it to the Establishment that Sacraments were denied? It did not subsist by virtue of Sacraments. But on hatred and opposition to the Church of Rome it *was* founded, and by these it had lived for three hundred years: calumny and misrepresentation of that Church made its very heart's blood, which I had been drawing away. The Bishop, in short, was acting in harmony with the spirit of his Church, and in defence of her right to malign; and I was a real enemy, who deserved to be expelled, though I *had* defended Anglicanism on principles repudiated by itself.

CHAPTER VI.

DR. WILBERFORCE AT OXFORD, AND PIUS IX. AT GAETA.

It was quite necessary for my health and spirits to seek for a time a total change of scene, and I could think of nothing so attractive as a visit to Rome, and especially to the Pope. The weakness of friends and the thoroughly heretical spirit of enemies, had alike disgusted me in the last conflict. I felt that I had not a shred to love in Anglicanism, yet all the while the speculative difficulty on the side of the Roman supremacy remained. I had a companion, in the last stage of Anglicanism himself, so very Roman in all his views and feelings that I know not how he had so long subsisted where he was. On July 26, then, Wynne and I started. We passed two days at Paris, and pressed on to Marseilles and Rome with all speed. Eight days under the dogstar there brought down our strength; while our minds were profitably occupied in visiting churches, catacombs, &c., with Dr. Grant. We then had a glimpse of Albano and its neighbourhood, and stopping at Mola di Gaeta one afternoon, had an interview with the Pope, brought about in the most singular manner,

which is thus described in a journal made at the time:—

‘At the Villa di Cicerone, Mola di Gaeta, we breakfasted; and then went down to wash away the heat of our travel in the sea, where it softly breaks around the ruins of old Roman villas in *Formiæ*, *Mamurrarum urbs*. That done, we dressed, and, though tired, set off to cross the bay and present our letter of introduction to Monsignor Stella. The day was rapidly closing in, and as the men demanded two piastres to go across, we were waiting for a smaller boat, when a gentleman came down from the Villa de Caposile and the boat we had declined came for him. As he was pushing off, I called out in French, and asked what was the proper price to go across. He said, “You must make a bargain; one or two piastres—as it may be. But, if you like to go over with me, you are welcome. I don’t know how long I shall stay, but you can arrange otherwise for your return.” The passage took about an hour, during which we talked on various subjects, the troubles in Rome and elsewhere, &c. I took him to be a Roman, and member of the diplomatic corps. He knew Monsignor Stella, and said he would have the honour to conduct us to him. But we must have a passport, both to enter and to go out of Gaeta, and the gates were shut two hours after nightfall. As night was fast coming on, this was not encouraging; however, we thought we would make the best of it.

As we landed, he pointed out to us an oldish person, looking like a country gentleman. "That," he said, "is the Pope's brother." They immediately accosted each other, and he took us with him; and so we walked, side by side, through soldiers, policemen, &c., everyone giving us free passage. He said to us, "The first time I came here, I was kept, myself, in imprisonment by these people for half an hour." The King had resigned to the Pope his palace here; it is but a small building, and quite low, opposite the wall of the harbour. The Queen had come to lie in at a white house adjoining, where, I should think, the accommodation for a court must be very limited. We went on, straight to the palace. All this seemed to me so very strange that I could not forbear saying to Wynne, "It seems we are under St. Michael's guidance." Just before entering the palace, the Pope's brother left us; our stranger¹ led us on, up stairs, and through guards, to the door of the Levée, where he entered, asking for our letter, which he took in himself to Monsignor Stella, who, shortly after, came out and said, very politely, that the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State was then with the Pope, but that in a few minutes we should see him. He then, with another, entered into conversation with us, saying a good deal about the certainty there was that those who sought the truth with sincerity would find it. I had with me both the

¹ Many years afterwards I learnt that he was Prince Odescalchi.

conclusion of the "Journal," translated into Italian for the Pope, and the book itself. Presently, Monsignor Stella told us we could enter; and leaving hat and gloves we passed through one or two rooms, and at the end of another—a bedroom, I believe—saw the Pope, standing alone by a small table. We approached, making three separate genuflexions; we came quite close to him, and he received us standing, and remained so the whole time. He was dressed entirely in white, which, I believe, is the Papal undress, with a white skull-cap; the material, I think, a fine Cashmire. He addressed me, and said: 'I am informed you have written a book, in which you have ventured to express what you thought. Is it true that you have had to undergo trouble from the Bishop of Oxford on this account?' It was quite true, I said, and a process had very nearly been instituted against me. And why? because I had spoken with too much zeal about Catholic matters. 'Was it as a minister, or as an individual, that he thought of proceeding against you?' 'As a minister,' I said; 'but that is all now past.' I then presented the book and the translation to him. He asked if the book had been translated; I said No; but only the conclusion, which had been done on purpose for his Holiness; and Dr. Grant had had the kindness to write it out. He regretted that he did not know English, and accepted them very graciously. He continued: 'I am satisfied when I

see men earnestly desirous after the truth. Truth is one; and if men seek it with a single mind, I am convinced that God will give them grace to attain to it.' He went on in a very kind and complimentary way to me. Then he asked whether I had been in Italy before—and when; how long we now stayed, and our route home. He then passed to political matters; observed that we enjoyed great tranquillity in England: in this respect he much admired us. 'I talked,' he said, 'many times, with Lord Minto; but he does not seem to me one of your leading statesmen: he speaks French ill; for though I have been accustomed to hear it continually for many years, I often could not make out what he said.' Then he remarked the danger of communism in religion, to which republicanism in politics was likely to lead. Catholics generally knew their duty, but too many did not practise it. He asked if I knew Mr. Newman. I said, very well—he had been my confessor while he was with us. 'I was much pleased with him,' said the Pope; 'with his gentleness and calmness; he gathered some five of his friends about him at Rome, under my direction, with the view of becoming Oratorians. Then, as to ability, he has a European name. I remember his friends, though I cannot catch their names, save one—St. John.' Then he asked after Dr. Pusey. 'He has done,' said the Pope, 'much good; he has opened the door; he has set before his countrymen

the principle of authority, which is the first thing in religion—he has prepared the way for Catholicism.’ He spoke in praise of Dr. Grant, who, he said, had an excellent judgment and sense of duty. As I thought our interview was approaching its end, I took courage to begin a fresh subject myself, and said: ‘I consider it a blessing to have the opportunity of expressing personally to your Holiness, that some ecclesiastics at least among us—I may say, several—deeply feel how great a calamity it has been to England, and to the whole British realm, that she has been separated from the Holy See. They ardently desire her re-union with it.’ He expressed his joy at this. I asked if he would give us his blessing. ‘That I will, with all my heart,’ he replied; ‘and I will pray for you, and for your friends; and for all England.’ (He also, at our request, blessed two crucifixes, which I held in my hand, and also those in Wynne’s; he seemed merely to touch them.) We then knelt, and he pronounced the blessing: ‘*Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis, Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper.*’ ‘I will give you each,’ he said, ‘a slight token of remembrance of me’; whereupon he put into my hands a cameo of our Lord, wearing the crown of thorns and reed, very nicely cut and set, with small stones round it, and the letters—‘*Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum,*’ each on a stone. To Wynne he gave an intaglio, bearing on the obverse

St. Peter, and on the reverse St. Paul. We then took leave; the Pope standing, as before, and we retiring with our faces towards him till we reached the next room, and kneeling at different distances.

His manner and look were very pleasing; much more so than his portraits. He is a little above the middle height, very corpulent—his white soutane seeming to bulge out very much—looks about fifty-five, and in good health; light eyes. The most simple dignity characterised his bearing. He spoke in Italian, once using French, but perhaps finding that Italian was preferred by us, he passed to it.

We thanked the Chamberlain warmly for having treated us with so marked a courtesy, and procured us an audience so very quickly. He addressed to us many compliments, and seemed inclined to enter warmly into conversation. Another young Monsignor came up, and they spoke of the Bishops in Piedmont rallying round the Pope against the bad principles now in vogue. I said those of Austria had also assembled, and the French Episcopate was known to be courageous. The other spoke with great warmth of the vile things done at Rome by the republicans—offences against morals, &c.—‘it was enough to make one weep,’ he said; and Monsignor Stella spoke of attempts to make the Pope yield in matters which it was not becoming to name (probably about the celibate). After a few minutes we rose to leave, and they dismissed us with much politeness. We went

downstairs, hardly believing that we had indeed seen and talked with the Pope, received his blessing, and his token of remembrance. All had passed so quickly and so easily, as if some unseen power had opened for us a way. We walked backwards and forwards sundry times in the piazza, among a crowd of soldiers and civilians, talking of our interview, and striving by each other's help to arrange its particulars; for as I had had chiefly to speak, Wynne had more opportunities of observing what had been said, and probably was in a state of less excitement. After this, and attempting to look at the Pope's presents by lamp-light, we went to the port and found our boat. It was quite dark, and before we were over, the wind rose, and I thought we should have had a storm. It lightened perpetually, but the boatmen put up a sail which carried us speedily into their little port.

With regard to this visit I here insert a note which I received the following year from Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Wiseman.

' BEXHILL: July 4, 1850.

' DEAR SIR,—I must send you an extract from a letter from Dr. Grant, of the 24th ult.

' "By the way, tell Mr. Allies that he must be quick, as the Pope spoke about him yesterday, and remembered his respectful attitude and behaviour at Gaeta. Cardinal Ferretti said that the only night of real freedom from melancholy at Gaeta was after

Allies and Wynne had been to see his Holiness. Get him converted *quam primum*."

'I am sure you will excuse my sending you the above, just as it is. With kind regards and blessing to Mrs. A.,

'I am, yours sincerely in Christ,

'N. WISEMAN.'

The comfort which this interview gave is indescribable, and I feel sure that from the time S. Peter's successor gave me his blessing and promised me his prayers, the heavy cloud of confusion and misapprehension which had rested so long upon me, in spite of prayers and the most resolute efforts after the truth, began to dissolve, and the day-star to rise. We passed a delightful fortnight at Naples, Sorrento, Capri, &c., and I then returned by sea to Marseilles, leaving Wynne at Genoa, and on Thursday, September 13, was again in England, renovated in mind and body, and carrying about with me the Pope's present as a safeguard against all evil.

Of the spirit in which I took this journey I quote the following as samples.

Speaking of the Jesuits' Church at Genoa, I wrote: 'It is a cross-church of exceedingly rich ornament, paintings, marbles, and gildings, in very good taste, I think. I feel quite like a Southern in these things, and love to see the house of God full of those costly offerings which would be found in a royal palace. Though S. Paul's and Westminster

Abbey are bare and naked, Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle show some signs that they are the habitation of a great monarch. And "am not I a great king?" Therefore I would inlay altars with gold and silver, precious stones and variegated marbles, cover ceilings with pictures and gilding, vaults with arabesque, floors with mosaics. This poor church seemed to yearn for its former occupants. None of the busy work of spiritual life was going on as we witnessed before. We thought of our good friend Padre Giordano—his cell and bedstead, which the world, it seems, would not allow him. However, he is gone to his rest, and pity would be misapplied; he perhaps may feel it for us, not we for him.' Padre Giordano died in consequence of the outrages received at the expulsion of the Jesuits from Genoa. Again, at Naples: 'On our way we had gone into the Church of the Jesuits, and finding a mass going on, remained till it was finished. This is a very spacious and well-proportioned cross-church, rich in marbles and decoration. I suppose the churches of the Jesuits may be said specially to represent the present mind of the Roman Church; and in them is seen how much the mediæval type has been departed from. There is no longer the far-receding chancel cut off by rood-screen from the people; on the contrary, altars in abundance, richly adorned, court, as it were, the gaze. *That* was an age of mysterious reverence; this, of inquiry; that, of penitential feeling for sin; this,

rather of warm affection and reliance on mercy. One sees there has been an adaptation to a certain change which has come over the human mind. I take it that it would be mere antiquarianism to go back to the mediæval model, which was as little that of the early ages, as it is of the present. There is a growth in these things of which the living church must be the embodiment. This exceeding richness of marbles, painting, and gilding; these gorgeous altars and broad open spaces—I confess I like them. And if one is sometimes pained at the extreme nonchalance of an attendant (as I was to-day) at least one ought to be edified by the fact that worship is perpetually going on.’

On the festa at the Mariners’ Church at Santa Lucia: ‘We went in and found a small chapel set out very gaudily with hangings, and on the left a large figure of the Madonna, gaudily dressed in gauze with a tinsel crown, and the Child the same. A benediction was preparing, and the priests were robed at the altar, and many lights burning. I thought how much there was here to offend a Northern mind, and yet the law of charity would surely consider for whose worship this small chapel and its decorations were intended. This tawdrily-dressed figure of the Madonna and Child is probably the gift of poor boatmen; the ornaments they have bestowed on her are probably the costliest and finest which they could imagine, or at least procure. The

worship is *to them* that which best represents the majesty of God, and their feeling of love and veneration for her whom all generations call blessed. This people, I conceive, and especially the lower classes, are very *sensuous*; they must see with carnal eyes, or *not at all*. Is it not so with the uneducated even in the North? Where is the love and veneration which the poor among us show to the person of our Lord, and to His Mother? Judging from their demeanour in all holy places, they have none; nothing that meets their eye is to them holy. How far better the moral state of the man who puts the foot of St. Peter's statue to his forehead, or wears his knees in ascending the Santa Scala, or bows his head before the likeness of her who was the instrument of the Incarnation, and who is exalted far above all other creatures by an incommunicable dignity, one, it would be thought, which must call forth in every man's breast, and still more in every woman's, every spark of tenderness which God has bestowed on it—how much better is such a state than the peasant's who passes the broken cross without salute, who cannot fall on his knees even before the altar of his God, whose notion of religion seems to be to sit out a sermon! But, however, the North and the South are so far apart in feeling that only the charity which died on the cross can reunite them.'

Again, at Pisa: 'I think these four things, Duomo, Campo Santo, Baptistery, and Tower, thus

standing together by themselves, are unique in effect—melancholy, no doubt, for they speak of *past* grandeur, and seem on a scale so far beyond the poor silent Pisa. I suppose Italian and English genius, or religion, or both, are very different; Liverpool and Manchester have ten times the commerce which Pisa ever had—but they will leave to posterity no sacred buildings like these. I often wish our modern countrymen reached the height—I do not say of Christian or of Jewish piety—but of that old Pagan reverence, such as Herodotus records, which prompted the cities of Greece to spend the first-fruits of their gains on temples. However, to be just, the change is remarkable in modern times *everywhere*; the countries which have rejected the Reformation, hardly less than those which embraced it, seem to have declined from the public expression of religious feeling in great buildings. It is the age of spinning-jennies, more or less, everywhere.’

But the spirit and temper with which I went abroad this last time as a Protestant may be summed up in the words which I addressed to the Pope at Gaeta. It was the grand object of my whole journey. ‘I consider it a blessing to have the opportunity of expressing personally to your Holiness that some ecclesiastics at least, among us—I may say several—deeply feel how great a calamity it has been to England, and to the whole British realm, that she has been separated from the Holy See. They ardently

desire her reunion with it.' I did not yet see, though I was advancing nearer and nearer, that all such reunion must be accomplished by individual submission; that the right was *entirely* on one side, and that the concession must be *entirely* on the other.

As far as I can judge, there was nothing but the question of the Supremacy which kept me, at the time of this journey, a Protestant. I approached the Pope with all the reverence due to S. Peter's successor, but I did not yet see what the office of S. Peter involved; and the groundless notion of *usurpation*, on such a vital point, served as a barrier between me and Catholicism, though all my sympathies were on its side, and though I felt myself day by day 'cabined, cribbed, confined' by Anglicanism, and stifled by its moral temper.

It seems the place to say a word on the effect produced on me by six successive visits abroad, in 1843, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, and 1849. The *cause* of all these was the *ennui* and weariness of mind and body produced in me by the moral solitude, or rather howling wilderness, of Launton; but the *object* which I had in all of them (in the first without any combined plan, but in all the rest of set design) was to observe the state of the Church abroad. Of Catholicism in England I knew nothing. It is not enough to say that I was not attracted by it; rather, by the outward notices and rumours which percolated to me, by the companions with which it was politically and

socially connected, by its *status* in England as it appeared to one without, I was violently repelled from it. It had 'no form or comeliness' in my eyes *here*, that I should 'desire' it. Catholicism came to me from study; from carrying out principles which I had received with unhesitating faith from my Anglican teachers; that the Church is 'one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic,' I had believed from earliest youth. Until I was roused to seriousness such a belief was merely inert within me; but from 1837 onwards, as my theological studies proceeded, belief in this article of the Creed became deeper and more living within me. In 1841 I accepted the sternest teaching of the Fathers on the duty of unity and the peril of salvation in disregarding it. I even applied this to dissenters absolutely and uncompromisingly. It is laid down in two sermons then preached, and printed in 1844. I was not, therefore, learning *new* principles, but only seeing the due application of *old* ones, when my looks were turned inquiringly and anxiously on the Roman Church, which I was told was a 'branch' of the one true Church, but 'corrupt.' I was puzzling my way out of this confusion of ideas, the 'true Church' and 'corrupt;' this utter contradiction of terms; common-sense *aux prises* with hereditary teaching and reverence for individuals of believed holy life, and great learning. I had not so much *taken* from the 'Tracts for the Times,' and still more from Newman's writ-

ings, as *instinctively received* as being in accordance with the substratum of my own mind, four great principles: the Unity of the Church; the Apostolical Succession of the Episcopate (very loosely conceived); the Sacramental System; and the essential Independence and Autonomy of the Spiritual Order in regard to the Temporal. Now to square these with the actual state of things, with the rest of Anglican teaching, with all that I saw around me, was in truth the problem which engaged my mind from 1838 to 1850. And, as I have noticed on each occasion, the successive glimpses of the Church abroad which I obtained in these different excursions helped me much in the solution of this problem; the position of the Roman Catholics in England and Ireland helped me not at all—for a double cloud of prejudice encircled them to my sight. And it happened that in proportion as I saw Anglicanism fail on each and all of these great points, as set forth by some of its own teachers, I likewise saw Catholicism abroad exemplify and attest them. The mighty force of prejudice, and also the indistinctness and illogical confusion of Anglican teaching, are shown by the number of years which it took me to learn so apparently easy a conclusion. For probably no Jew, or Mahometan, or Hindu, or Socinian, or infidel *savant*, if these four principles were set before him as granted, and he were asked to point out what communion exhibited them in its practice, would hesitate even twenty-four hours to

decide in favour of Catholicism, and in rejection of Anglicanism. Nor can I attribute this slowness to intellectual incapacity, for in truth the question seems to require little logical acumen, and is rather one of first principles; and, moreover, one of the greatest power, acuteness, and brilliancy of intellect was as long in reaching the conclusion as the poor homunculus who is writing this. Also, it is to be remembered, ‘no one calleth Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Spirit;’ and S. Peter had been two years in attendance daily on our Lord, and seeing the most wondrous miracles, yet when he confessed our Lord’s Godhead and Manhood, Christ blessed him in the words, ‘Blessed art thou, Simon Barjonas, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.’ Now, induction of this great truth from Christ’s miracles and teaching would still have been ‘flesh and blood,’ a movement of the natural, and not of the supernatural order.

Now, before September 1849 I felt convinced that the ‘sacramental system’ was a thorough nonentity, a gross sham, in the Anglican communion, without power over the people, and not believed by the ministers themselves. I felt convinced that the ‘Church—one, holy, Catholic and apostolic’—was reduced to a mere ruin by Anglican arguments; and this was the real conclusion of my own book in defence of Anglicanism, which bore my mind down to the very earth with sadness, while yet I saw no other solu-

tion. As to the essential autonomy of the spiritual order, the whole status of the Anglican Church seemed a mockery and derision of it, with one more remarkable feature about it—that its own partisans in general did not seem to feel this mockery and derision, which pierced my very soul; and on the apostolical succession of the episcopate, while its two parts—order and jurisdiction—were mixed up, *in confuso*, in my mind, the most disquieting thoughts as to the existence even of order in Anglicanism shot continually across me, and that in the very celebration of Anglican rites, at the same time that jurisdiction was the very point on which I needed illumination. Thus, of my four great principles, two were absolutely given up as desperate in Anglicanism; and on the other two a great lesson was still in store for me. When this was once given, the problem would be at length solved, and the *intellectual* probation at an end; while the *moral* probation would reach its culminating point.

Each one of these journeys, on the other hand, had shown me the ‘sacramental system’ in full operation abroad, uncontested by the Church’s children or her enemies—the ‘sacramental system’ not broken into fragments arbitrarily picked out by the will of innovators, but complete, coherent and harmonious; not a luxury of the rich and educated, but the pillow on which the poor laid their wearied heads; the ‘food’ on which ‘the strong’ braved death, and

all the trials which are harder than death to bear ; the life of the religious orders ; the arteries of Christianity, or rather the spinal cord of the spiritual body. The ' oneness of the Church ' was no less exhibited wherever I looked, even when its manifestation most wounded my Anglican susceptibilities, as when I learned by experience that it was enough for absolute condemnation in the mind of Catholics not to be in communion with the Roman See, and when no lengthened argument seemed to be required, or even admissible, by any Catholic speaker or thinker. As to the ' independence and autonomy of the spiritual order,' the Church of France, which was chiefly presented to me, offered the most remarkable instance, by the contrast of its poverty and worldly disconsideration, while the least portion of its dogma was untouched by legislative assemblies claiming the most unlimited power in all other things ; by the contrast supplied in these two with the material wealth and spiritual slavery of its Anglican rival—the Bishop of London had more to spend than the sixteen French metropolitans put together, but he was not allowed to say what the belief of his Church was on any single point—he could only offer that ' very fiend's arch-work,' an episcopal *opinion*, which every layman in his diocese might disregard—and lastly, ' the apostolical succession of the episcopate,' as set forth in the Roman theory, had so possessed my mind with its beauty and coherence that

I dwelt upon it, *con amore*, in my 'Journal,' and so as to kindle the wrath of my pseudo-diocesan, whilst I could not yet accept it.

Perhaps, indeed, the result of these several journeys abroad will be best conveyed by quoting part of the conclusion of this 'Journal,' published thirty years ago, and long out of print. It will serve the double purpose of showing what may be conjectured specially to have irritated the Bishop of Oxford, and, by comparison with the slight account I have above given of a journey in 1843, of marking the space which my mind had traversed in less than six years. These passages had also been translated into Italian, and presented to the Pope in the audience which he gave to us at Gaeta, August 19, 1849.

'There are certain doctrines in the Roman Catholic Church, which are brought into such prominence in practice, and are in their own nature so very powerful, that they make that faith appear *in its actual exercise* quite another thing from the faith prevailing among ourselves, although there be really no essential difference between the *true mind* of the English, and that of the Roman Church. I say the *true mind*, that which forms the basis of the Prayer Book; that of which the Prayer Book faithfully carried out would be the verbal development. Whether the true *ἡθός* of the English Church will ever prevail actually within her, cast out the Puritan virus, and collect and animate the whole body of Catholic truth which

her formularies still contain, remains yet to be seen.

‘In the meantime I am greatly struck with the power exercised in the Roman Church by the great dogma of the Real Presence. It is the centre and life of the whole. It is the secret support of the priest’s painful self-denying mission; by it mainly the religious orders maintain themselves; the warmest, deepest, lowliest, most triumphant and enraptured feelings surround it; the nun that adores in silence for hours together, one from the other taking up that solitary awful watch in the immediate presence of the King of kings; the crowd of worshippers that kneel at the blessed yet fearful moment when earth and heaven are united by the coming down of the mystical Bridegroom into the tabernacle of His Church; the pious soul that not once or twice but many times during the day humbles itself before Him; the congregations which close the day by their direct homage to Him, as present to the threefold nature of man—body, soul, and spirit; all these attest the deep practical import which the dogma of the Real Presence exerts on the Catholic mind. Are not their churches holier to the believing soul than was the temple of Jerusalem when the visible glory of the Lord descended on it? For does not the single lamp burning before the shrine indicate a Presence inexpressibly more condescending, gracious, and exalting to man? In Catholic countries the offering of

direct adoration, the contemplation of the mind absorbed in the abyss of the Incarnation, never ceases one instant of the day or night. It is the response of the redeemed heart for ever making to Him, 'Who when he took upon Him to deliver man did not abhor the Virgin's womb.' When I contrast this with—what is still too common in this country, though happily growing less so daily—the beggarly deal or oak table covered with worm-eaten cloth, or left bare in its misery—with the deserted or pew-encumbered chancel, from which every feeling of reverence seems for ages to have departed—or with the pert inclosure domineered over by reading-desk and pulpit, and commanded all round by galleries: and on which, perhaps once a month, the highest mystery of the faith is commemorated among us, I do not wonder at the Roman Catholic, who regards the English Church as a sheer apostacy, a recoil from all that is controlling, ennobling, and transcendental in faith to a blank gulf of unbelief.

'The very existence of the Roman priest, the compensation for all he does or suffers, depends on that half-hour of the day when he meets his Lord. What an inexpressible privilege to have been preserved to, nay, almost enjoined upon, all her ministers! And how could the monk and the nun live but on the continual food of the Holy Eucharist, and the steadfast contemplation of the Incarnation? England has banished the monk and the nun, and popularly, in

spite of her formularies, accounts the priesthood more than half a heresy; she has no provision among her institutions for the Christian Brother and the Sister of Charity, though her poor are perishing for lack of the bread of heaven, and her sick dying in uninstructed heathenism, and her young carried about with every blast of doctrine, ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. And together with those self-denying orders, which bear witness to the exuberant life welling forth out of the depth of the Church of Christ, England has banished the dogma of the Real Presence, not indeed from her theory, but still from being that vital and pervading practical truth which should animate and reward the labours of every day, and turn into consolation all the sorrows of humanity.

‘Oh that the Spirit of God might breathe the life of every day’s practical action into those anicient Catholic formularies which are at present a reproach to our degeneracy! Oh that our deep and large chancels of old time, the figure of our buried Lord’s sepulchre, might once more be the Bridechamber, where the risen Saviour descending should hold daily communing with His Church!

‘Most intimately connected with the dogma of the Incarnation, and its symbol, the Real Presence, is that of the Intercession of all Saints, especially of the Blessed Mother of God: nay, this may be said to be the continuation and carrying out of the

Real Presence, so that wherever that is truly and heartily believed, this will be, within due bounds, cherished and practised. For the truth that our Lord has assumed our flesh, and communicates that flesh to his true believers, leads directly to the faith that they who are departed and at rest with Him, and delivered from all stain of sin, do indeed "live and reign" with Him, and have power with God. And if this be true of the least saint, who by the mercy of God had been thought worthy of the Beatific Presence, in how much higher a degree is it true of Her, to whom by the assumption of her pure flesh Christ was brought so inconceivably near! And shall not we who are engaged in so weary a conflict call upon all saints, and Her especially, to aid and befriend us? "O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him for ever!" Yea, praise Him, and magnify Him, by praying and interceding for us, who, high as ye are, and low as we, you exalted to glory, and we buffeted by the flesh, and led into error in the spirit, are yet your brethren by virtue of the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate God, which made you what you are, which is the earnest to us of being one day what you are. Praise and magnify the common Lord who bought us, by supplicating larger supplies of His grace on us His suffering members. And may not we ask you, who dwell in sight of the Eternal Throne, but who once, like ourselves, bore the burden and heat

of the day in this earthly wilderness, may we not ask you to turn your regards on us, to intercede for us before Him, whose members you are in glory, and we in trial? Of the redeemed family one part is with God and one on earth. Is there to be no communion between them, when one part most needs the aid of the other? Is this derogating from the glory of Christ? What a strange perversion of error which can so esteem it! Surely it is a sense, a spiritual touch, as it were, of the "cloud of witnesses," which inspirits Catholic hearts to win the battle, which enables the most lonely to feel that he is not alone, that he is encompassed and aided by heavenly hosts. Accordingly, the intercession of saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mother, is a living truth in Catholic countries; it accompanies the doctrine of the Real Presence, and works in subservience to it. Doubtless where the former is not vividly held, the latter will be repudiated, and, perhaps, counted idolatrous. It would, indeed, be wholly out of proportion with the cold creed of the Unitarian or the Sectary: it might lead those to fall down and worship at the feet of a servant who did not behold in that servant the one image of the Lord, the seal and impress of the Only Begotten, which claims all glory for the Lord of glory.

‘And a concomitant of the true doctrine of the priesthood is that system of confession which is the nerve and sinew of religion in Catholic countries. The English Prayer-book says of every individual

priest, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." Here is the whole Catholic doctrine stated. Now this the Roman Church not only says, but acts upon. And its strength lies, accordingly, not in anything that meets the eye, gorgeous cope, or chasuble, or procession, or majestic ceremonies symbolising awful doctrines; not in anything that meets the ear, whether chanted psalm, or litany, or sermon touching the feelings, or subduing the understanding; though all these it has, its strength lies deeper in the hidden tribunal of conscience. The good Christian is not he who attends mass or sermon, but he who keeps his conscience clean from the attacks of sin, who, overtaken in a fault, has straightway indignation upon himself, and submits himself to the discipline which Christ has appointed for restoring him. The efficacy of the pastor must entirely depend on the knowledge of his people's state, and his power to correct their sins, and to guide them in their penitence. How he can possibly have this knowledge, or power, or guide them at all without special confession, I see not: nor how he can ever exercise the power conveyed to him at his ordination, and lodged by Christ in His Church for ever. This is the true bond between the pastor and his flock: the true maintainer of discipline, and instrument of restoration. Accordingly, in Catholic countries, we see the priest truly respected, cherished, and obeyed *by his flock*, however much he may earn

the dislike and suspicion of the worldly and unconverted: in Protestant countries we see the pastoral office a nonentity; the shepherd of his flock is virtually a preacher of sermons. He knows the plague is ravaging them, but they will not bear the touch of his hand: he must see them perish one by one, but they will not let him help them: when mortification has begun, then he is called in to witness a hopeless dissolution, or to speak peace, peace, where there is no peace.

‘The dogma of the Incarnation and the Real Presence has again the closest affinity with that of the Priesthood. Christ is present in His Church, for the Priest in the tribunal of penitence is as God Himself. How vain, how worse than blasphemous, would be the attempt to absolve from sin—surely the maddest infringement of Divine Power which mortal ever imagined—had not He, the partner of our flesh and blood, said, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained:” and “Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.” No blasphemy can approach the Church’s blasphemy, if it be not God’s truth; and if it be, so deeply touching the secret springs of discipline, in what state is a branch of the Church of Christ, which utterly neglects this truth in practice, and allows it with impunity to be denied, and derided, and calumniated? Whose children from their infancy have

scarcely ever heard it? Whose full-grown men turn from it in all the hardness of rebellious manhood? And if it be what it is, either a Divine Power, or a diabolical deceit, can that be at once the Gospel, which has it and which has it not?

‘Here then, again, we have no new thing to take up with, but simply to practise what we already solemnly profess.

‘Thus the perpetual recurrence to the doctrine of the Real Presence, the prominence given to the Intercession of Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin, and the real putting forth of apostolic power in the tribunal of penitence, are striking features in the Roman Communion. By these she proves that she has living power as a portion of Christ’s Church, by living upon and dealing with the most awful powers: as she holds the true doctrine, “Believe that this is so, because I say it, and I say it because it has come to me from Christ through His Apostles,” so she exhibits the convincing proof of her mission: “Believe that I am the Church, for behold me exercising the supernatural powers of the Church.” This is that inward proof which convinces, which is nothing technical, merely intellectual, or matter of argument, but like S. Augustine’s “*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*,” —“A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.” And the Anglican portion must prove, in act as well as in theory, her identity with this of Rome, from whom she has her succession, and with that other great

Oriental Communion, the joint-witness herein of Catholic truth and practice. Her prayer-book has the deepest accordance with the Catholic system. Will she in act continue to put a false interpretation on the words of her own formularies, or will she read them practically in the sense of those from whom she took them?

‘Preachers in the Roman Church use no book : it seems the people would not tolerate a written discourse. The result is, that sermons are much more rhetorical, and rather appeal to the affections and feelings than to the understanding. The French mind certainly would not endure the sort of cut and dried essay which is often given in England ; yet an appreciation of logical order and sound reasoning is the very characteristic of the French mind. More southern nations would still less enter into the style of preaching in vogue with ourselves. I think it is a grave question whether the faculty of expressing one’s thoughts in public without book should not be made a part of every priest’s education. The ancient Fathers all did so. Is not our own the only portion of the Church where a contrary practice prevails? And dangerous as it would be for the generality of Anglican priests to attempt to speak on grave points of doctrine without their books before them, yet surely by a special education the power may be acquired to combine accuracy of thought with readiness of expression. Orthodoxy has no natural connexion

with a written sermon. At least the power of illustrating any given subject without book is a precious means of influence. And what is the priest without influence?

‘No more interesting spectacle is there in the world, to my eyes, than the aspect and attitude of the French Church. Fifty years after such an overthrow as no other Church ever survived, behold forty thousand priests at work, under eighty bishops, in the great task of winning back their country to the faith. Despoiled of all territorial power, of all political authority as priests, of the possession even in fee of a single church, parsonage, or palace; reduced to a state of even apostolical poverty, and receiving a miserable salary paid as to merchants’ clerks by the Government; with a temporal power jealous of all spiritual influence, and the whole mind of the nation infected with infidelity—year after year they are winning ground, they are making themselves felt; they present a front before which even the tyranny of centralisation pauses in its career, counts ever and anon the cost of the conflict, and recoils from its aggression. In the very midst of the corruptions of Paris we are told that fifty thousand converts, the pure gold of the Church, exist as a centre which is ever drawing more around them. Infidelity itself talks of the religious movement, and fears it, and would fain expel its most tried and valorous champions—two hundred destitute men, who begin their

profession by the renunciation of their goods. How is all this done? What power is this which makes its way against such tremendous odds? If any fact was ever patent in history, it is this—let us not be ashamed to own it—it is *the power of the Cross*. The bishop, residing in a palace which he has not the funds even to keep in repair, with a smaller income than a little tradesman or a country attorney, has no other channel for his cares and affections than those five hundred priests, who, with the pay of day-labourers, yet charged with the intimate knowledge and perilous guidance of souls, look up to him as their head and support, their defender and champion. And in every village there is one at least, linked to earth but by a spiritual tie, a member of a great hierarchy, through whom the Redeemer rules visibly on the earth. He is cut off from almost all participation in temporal things, but the larger is his portion of things spiritual: he reflects, in his degree, the true Melchizedek. Removed from us but by a narrow strait we see bishops at 400*l.* a year, archbishops at 600*l.*, bound to celibacy, truly ruling their clergy, serrying their ranks against the enemy, and fearing nothing, were it but that they have nothing to lose; standing, where the bishop ought to stand, in the first ranks against the attacks of infidelity.

‘There, again, the priest detached from all human ties, representing in his life already that state where they neither marry nor are given in marriage, in his

spiritual character greater than all other men, in his temporal condition lower than most.

‘Consider now the duties and habits of our own Church, in its present practical working, by the side of this of France. In the one, every bishop and priest offers daily the tremendous Sacrifice. Daily he has to appear in that most awful presence, where nothing unclean can stand : daily he is armed against those spiritual conflicts, for himself and others, which he has to undergo, receiving “the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation.” In the other, the priest at rare intervals, in the vast majority of instances only once a month, approaches the Source of life and health. But what is the inward condition under which each approaches it? The one is under complete spiritual guidance, taught, as a first element of spiritual life, that constant and rigorous self-examination must be practised, and for every sin willingly committed after baptism penance be undergone and confession made : the other, left to himself in that work most perilous to human frailty, the conduct of one’s own spiritual state ; nor, again, that thus left to himself, he can work by a chart in which the hidden shoals are pointed out, and his progress noted. All, on the contrary, in this inward life, so unspeakably important, is left a blank. How can he guide others who has never been taught to guide himself, or submit himself to another’s guidance? For as to the duties of the priest, in these

two Churches—in the one, the very main duty, which is far more important than all others, is the secret guiding of consciences, laden with guilt and in various degrees of purification: all public ministrations are immensely inferior in importance to this. Whereas in the other Church, it is these public ministrations which alone exist in any degree of efficiency. Not one Anglican priest in a hundred has ever been called to receive a confession, or unfold the terms of reconciliation to a guilty soul. Indeed so much is this the case, that the notion of the priest in most parishes is extinct: it is the minister and the preacher who have taken his place. Again, in the one Church a compact body of doctrine and a line of preaching are set forth in the *Catechismus ad parochos*: in the other, it frequently happens that two adjoining priests are at issue on the very first principles of Christian doctrine; whether, for instance, there be or be not a Christian priesthood; whether there be or be not grace in the sacraments. Again, in the one Church, for the more devoted spirits religious orders and counsels of perfection exist, and celibacy is the condition of all superior spiritual vocations; in the other it is yet in practice doubtful, whether counsels of perfection are not inventions of the Evil One, and whether the putting forth of celibacy as meritorious be not an infringement of the one Sacrifice offered on the Cross.

‘Perhaps this contrast might be carried farther,

but it is an unpleasant task to show how Anglicanism (meaning by that expression not the real system of the prayer-book, but that which has practically forced its way to a great extent into the pale of the English Church) is gold largely mingled with earthly alloy. A divine work is at present interfered with by commixture of an heretical element, leaving us only a fervent hope and prayer, that by the long-suffering mercy of God a seed may still remain, which in due time by most unambiguous works of love shall prove its identity with the ancient Church of the Island of Saints, and become one fold under one Shepherd.

‘ Christ only, of God’s messengers to man,
Finished the work of grace which He began.
List, Christian warrior, thou whose soul is fain
To rid thy mother of her present chain ;—
Christ will unloose His Church ; yea, even now
Begins the work, and thou
Shalt spend in it thy strength, but, ere He save,
Thy lot shall be the grave.’

‘ And now, as we leave the French Church, let us glance a moment at that whole community of which it is but one, though an important member. My whole design in the foregoing pages has been to bring before sincere and candid minds facts which otherwise might not be presented to their notice. Facts have an objective existence ; if we shut our eyes to them they do not cease to be. ‘The sun shines, though we are blind to its rays. Wisdom utters her voice in the streets, though none listen to

her. Now incomparably the most important facts in the Roman Church are those which concern not merely a member of it, but the whole Communion : *e.g.* its extent, its doctrine, its internal discipline, its vital principle, and its generative and expansive power. If under these heads we consider the Roman Church, taking it merely as a fact, like the British monarchy, is it too much to say, that no work of art, no discovery of genius, no scheme of philosophy physical or metaphysical, earthly or heavenly, no history of human deeds in doing or in suffering, no political constitution, no scientific confederacy, no association of monarchs or of peoples, no past or present civilisation, nothing about which men have wearied themselves in research and discussion, is so worthy of patient thought and humble consideration as is that Communion. The following are a few reasons for the above observation :—1. The Roman Catholic hierarchy depends on the Pope as its centre of unity, and as the divinely-appointed Head of the Church on earth. From him all its bishops receive canonical institution, that is, the grant of spiritual jurisdiction. Accordingly, they sign themselves Bishops “by the mercy of God, and the grace of the Holy Apostolic See.” What, then, is their number, and into how many countries do they extend? The following is as near an approximation to the truth as I can make.’

After giving a catalogue of the then eight hundred bishops of the Catholic Church, I add :—



‘ Here, then, is one spiritual empire, stretching over all the continents of the earth, entering into so many various nations utterly different in manners, language, origin and temper. This empire, though outnumbered in some few of these nations by other Christian Communions, yet has no one other set over against it, equally wide-spread, united, and claiming like it universality. And its functions, though necessarily exercised in this world, sometimes in friendship with, sometimes in opposition to, the civil power, have to do exclusively with man’s relations to the unseen world. So that it is strictly in this aspect a “kingdom of heaven” on earth, whose several members hold together by their common union with one chief.

‘ 2. But further, this hierarchy, thus numerous, thus widely spread, and thus united, are in possession of a vast body of doctrine, which they maintain to have descended to them from our Lord through His Apostles. This body of doctrine is uniform, coherent, systematic, forming a whole which comprehends all the relations of man to God from the formation of the first man to the general judgment of the world. These bishops, and the priests under them, are not in the habit of disputing what this body of doctrine is: for, as to all that concerns the Christian life, it has long ago been clearly defined and established. In the long course of eighteen hundred years disputes about it have indeed arisen: they have then been terminated by common consent: individuals

who took a different view about them from the whole body have been obliged to leave it, and the truth has only come out the more sharply defined from these contests. Moreover, as this doctrine claims to be *revealed*, and as all revelation must be partial, as a light shining amid darkness, penetrating it indeed on all sides, but leaving indefinite spaces beyond unilluminated, there are a multitude of questions more or less touching on this doctrine, yet not comprehended in it, or decided by it. Only enough is, by the consent of all members of this hierarchy, decided, so as to leave the Christian in no doubt as to any point concerning his salvation, or as to any practical means of obtaining it. There is no split in this doctrine, dividing its professors into separate camps: no internal opposition of principles reproduced in external divisions. It is one logical whole. If fresh doubts as to any point not yet decided be raised by the ever-active intellect of man, then the hierarchy, either collectively or by tacit adherence to the voice of its chief, declares and decides the point mooted. This body of doctrine, thus possessed and taught by this hierarchy, is termed *the Faith*, and it is necessary for every simple member of the Communion to hold and believe it. It is clear that no such body of doctrine could exist without a power coexisting at all times to declare what does or does not belong to it; for were it simply written in a book, interminable disputes would arise as to the meaning of the book.

Just as the English law, the work of ages, exists in a great number of volumes, but requires no less for its practical daily working the decision of a supreme judicial authority. The sovereign declares in his courts of justice what is *the law*: the Church declares in her court what is *the Faith*. This in civil matters, is government; in spiritual it is infallibility: without it, in the state there would be no one authority, in the Church no one Belief: this would be dissolved in anarchy, and that distracted by heresy.

‘3. But thirdly, this great spiritual empire with an hierarchy thus widely extended yet thus closely united, and a code of belief at once so large and so definite, erects its tribunal for the heart and conscience of every one belonging to it. In virtue of certain words spoken by its divine Founder to His Apostles it intervenes as a living power between man and his God, exercises the most special authority of its Head, and retains or remits sins in His name. It does not recoil before the pride, the self-will, the independence of human nature, but grasps it in its inmost recesses, and compels it to hear on earth the voice of the Judge of quick and dead. The authority it claims is so vast, so fearful, so incalculably important to those who live under it, so beyond the natural powers of man to exercise, that it is manifestly either divine or diabolical. For hundreds of years it has formed the subject of numberless reproaches directed against this empire by those who belong not to it: yet it subsists still:

there is no sign of its being surrendered or modified. It subsists under all forms of civil government, absolute or constitutional monarchies, or wild democracies, whose very symbol is the entire independence of the human will. And what is remarkable, the most devoted and saintly men who have lived under this spiritual empire, and whose lives were a continued sacrifice of their own leisure, toil, sufferings, and will to God, have been most zealous to uphold, and most skilful to exercise, this tribunal over the consciences of men. It has been now for many generations the chosen taunt of the unbeliever, and the constant practice of the saint.

‘4. But further, this empire dares to offer up the dearest affections of the natural man to the more uninterrupted service of God. It requires of all those whom it employs in the office of teaching a surrender of the liberty to engage in those ties which the Gospel itself seeks, not to proscribe, but to sanctify. Thus the Communion, which honours marriage as a sacrament, requires of all members of its hierarchy, down to the subdeacon inclusively, to abstain from it. It regards them as the militia of the Church; and “no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.” Multitudes there are besides, both of men and women, who accept not only this condition, but voluntarily embrace the vows of poverty and obedience in addition. To all these this spiritual empire promises one only compensa-

tion, great indeed, but received by faith alone; that, in proportion as they surrender all delight arising from the creature, and bring their will into subjection to another, the larger shall be their inheritance in the Creator; the more absolute the union of their will with His. And on this superhuman life, founded on self-renunciation, and supported by divine love, all great works in the Roman Communion depend. Not only is it the condition of the whole hierarchy, of all who have the Church's commission publicly to teach her belief, but the task of education, from the highest to the lowest classes, and the manifold labours of charity for the sick and poor, are all committed to those who give this proof of the sincerity of their vocation.

‘5. Lastly, in this spiritual empire there are a great number of institutions or congregations of men specially intended for its wider extension among yet heathen nations. To the conditions above enumerated they must add a yet more special aptitude for the most difficult and laborious work; a yet more complete surrender of human praise, reward, comfort, or support. Sisters of charity are seen to cross over the ocean to the extremity of the world, that they may work in combination with missionaries, whose task it is to live among savages, and to make them first men, in order that they may hereafter be Christians; both alike without endowment, in simple dependence on Providence, trusting to the labour of

their hands for maintenance, putting their lives in the power of the faithless and fickle savage, and showing him, by their own homelessness, that they but live and labour for him. Nor has the blood of martyrs wholly ceased to flow. Seventy persons in China, Tonquin, and Cochin China, have in the last fifty years borne witness with their lives to the faith of Christ—some of them Frenchmen and Spaniards, but some likewise priests and catechists taken out of one of the naturally feeblest races of the East, whom the grace of God nerved to endure torments unsurpassed for their severity in the earliest persecutions of the Church.

‘Whatever be the imperfections of human agents, is there not enough in all this to make us behold the working of a Divine and supernatural power? Should we not each, in our several spheres, labour and pray for reconciliation and unity—the adjustment of differences—the mutual understanding of Christendom? One alone can do this—let it be our first and last request to Him.

“ O Thou, who doest all things
whereby to bring again our race to Thee,
that it may be partaker
of Thy divine nature and eternal glory ;
who hast borne witness
to the truth of Thy Gospel
by many and various wonders,
in the ever-memorable converse of Thy Saints,
in their supernatural endurance of torments,
in the overwhelming conversion of all lands
to the obedience of faith,
without might, or persuasion, or compulsion ;—

end the schisms of the Churches,
quench the haughty cries of the nations,
restore the wanderers,
knit them to Thy Holy Catholic Apostolic Church,
and receive us all into Thy kingdom,
acknowledging us as Sons of Light ;
and Thy peace and love
vouchsafe to us, O Lord our God."'

But an end to this state of confusion, this miserable 'drifting' as I called it at the time, was approaching, though as yet in September 1849, I could not tell the quarter from which it would come. It did *not* come in the way which I had framed for myself, but from without, and from the course of events.

One of the arguments used to me in the discussions of the spring, both by Archdeacon Manning and by Dr. Pusey, against allowing my book to be brought into court, was, that the doctrine of the Anglican Church on such high points was not to be risked upon loose statements, but only when set forth with the utmost care and nicety, and guarded against all misapprehension. As soon, then, as I was returned from abroad, and settled into winter work, I bethought myself of setting forth the true Patristic doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice, fortified with quotations, and framed so as to bring matters 'to an issue,' in our communion—a favourite notion then with us poor '*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,' who did not see that we were tossed and whirled like helpless logs of wood in the maelstrom of

Protestantism. and who dreamt of the solid foundations of the city of God in that abyss of diabolic confusion, the seething turmoil of the outer darkness. On setting this purpose before Dr. Pusey, he encouraged it much: he knew it would last some time, and keep me quiet, he might hope, in the interval. No more escapades of Journals, or kicking at the Bishop of Oxford's pranks and trimmings, while he suggested that my work 'would be a *κτῆμα* and wished it to be submitted to Keble and himself, that they might be responsible for it.' October 25th, 1849.

The following are entries of this date:—

'*Launton, Monday, September 24, 1849.*—Returned home Saturday, September 15; began the next week with finishing journals of tour: gradually fell into a state of deep despondency about our position. I try to make out the cause of this. I think it is the vision of the English Church thoroughly possessed by heresy, full of a schismatical spirit, and miserably impotent in discipline, which fills my mind and reduces it to a deplorable state of unhappiness. I have taken up any light book which came to hand to get a momentary relief. Saturday seemed a little better, and had made up my mind to prosecute the design, which before I went abroad suggested itself to me repeatedly—to collect, that is, the most striking passages of the Fathers concerning the Holy Eucharist. That seems to me the ground on which to offer battle to the enemy.

‘*Sunday, September 16, and Sunday, September 23.*—At times much distressed.’

‘*Monday, October 1.*—Went to Oxford—to Pollen, and had a long talk with him: he has been to S. Saviour’s most of the vacation amid the cholera in fearful force, testing to the utmost our system. He seems in very low spirits about it: people quite in a state of heathenism. He got a sort of general confession, and absolved them without Holy Communion. ‘Rest of week chiefly on Suarez’ “*De Eucharistia*,” with increasing assurance that the difference is not irreconcilable between us and Rome on *that* head.

‘*Saturday, October 6.*—Drew out with amplification, the sketch of difficulties as to our position made last March, for consultation with Pusey and Manning. P. writes urging at once increased pastoral work, and a dogmatic treatise. Ahimé! What an indescribable relief it would be to me to have no pastoral work!’

I subjoin, as the best index of my state of mind, the above-mentioned ‘Thoughts of an English Churchman on the Roman Controversy,’ October 6, 1849:—

‘I. As to the Roman claim and position there are—
‘*a*. For.

‘Communion with St. Peter’s See;

‘Unbroken descent;

‘Continuity of dogma; (I do not mean that everything now held to be *de fide* in the Roman Church can be *proved* to have been held from the

beginning, for this is not even asserted, but that the whole dogma is historically and logically coherent and homogeneous).

‘Unity and extent of Communion.

‘A defined religious dogma resolutely maintained.

‘A Church living and in action, and exercising the most awful functions.

‘The force and attraction of the Catholic system; under this may be ranged, α' , Sacraments encompassing the whole spiritual life; β' , Counsels of perfection;

‘ γ' . Religious orders providing for every development of Christian graces, and every need of the Church.

‘ δ' . Celibacy in clergy.

‘ β' . Against.

‘1. The claim of *Papal* Infallibility, and with it absolute power, which seems necessary as a keystone to the whole Roman system, both in doctrine and discipline, *i.e.* as to the question of heresy, and as to the question of schism. The evidence not only fails for this, but seems contradicted and overpowered.’ (On August 1, 1850, I write on the opposite page: ‘P.S. With regard to No. 1, all my difficulties have been removed by a further inquiry, and the Papal Supremacy is now one of the strongest proofs on the side of Rome, to my mind.’)

‘2. *Extent of Saint-worship, and Patronage of the Blessed Virgin.*

‘3. *Use made of Indulgences and their mediæval development.*

‘4. *That the state of society, morals, religion, &c., in the world does not bear out the exclusive Roman claim to be the Catholic Church.*

‘But these difficulties, which are very great to one placed *externally* to the Roman system, become very much diminished, if they do not disappear, to one *within* it, by recognising it as the Catholic Church.

‘(N.B. All the difficulties against Rome range themselves under excess and abuse of right principles. All those of Anglicanism are perversions or denials of the principles themselves.—February 16, 1850.)

‘II. As to the *Anglican claim and position*, there are the following grounds of dissatisfaction :

‘1. The article of the Creed, “The Holy Catholic Church,” is reduced to a nullity in the Anglican system. For according to that the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican branches make up the Catholic Church, and as these branches do not hold the same body of truth, and besides condemn each other, the Church has ceased not only to be one, but likewise to be “the pillar and ground of the truth.”

‘Again, the Anglican Church does not claim to be *the* Catholic Church, while she censures the other two for false doctrine : therefore all that she leaves

to the believer in 'one holy Catholic Church,' is a ruin full of uncleanness, a fabric not *one*, for it is divided, not *holy*, for each of the three parts, in the estimation of the other two, teaches false doctrine.

'What avails it to say that, during six or any number of centuries, there *was* "one holy Catholic Church"?' the question for men who are every day dying and called to judgment is, whether there is *one* in the year 1849, where she is, and what she teaches. It is a further difficulty of the English Church, that if she be asked, Why do you teach such a doctrine, which is not held in the other branches of the Church (as for instance that chrism is not necessary to the validity of confirmation), or why do you *not* teach a doctrine which *is* held by them (as, for instance, the utility of invoking the intercession of the Saints), she is reduced to an answer of simple *private judgment*, as, for instance, if *you search* the Scriptures you will find no mention of chrism being necessary for confirmation, nor any instance of the invocation of Saints. Thus she has no *authority for anything* she teaches, save her *private judgment* of Scripture; but the private judgment of a province of the Church has no more the promise of being right, than the private judgment of an individual. This is so great and paramount a difficulty, that it seems to destroy the habit of *divine faith* itself in members of the English Church, inasmuch as they can believe *nothing, simply because* it is the

belief of the Catholic Church, for that Church is a *past historical thing* to them, not a living power, and what that historical Church held is matter for a man's *private judgment*, which the longest life and the greatest abilities will hardly enable him to solve.

‘2. The above difficulty dates from the changes of doctrine, and the isolation of communion, brought about at the Reformation. Judging of this event, historically and philosophically, its rationale seems to be, as regards the *noblesse*, spoliation of Church property; as regards the *State*, subjection of the spiritual to the civil power in spiritual matters, i.e. the change of a Catholic to a national system; as regards the *human mind*, the overthrow of the principle of authority. The Reformation, accordingly, among us, develops itself in three main features: α'. Erastianism: *e.g.* invasion of spiritual powers by the civil authority; interference of mixed legislative lay bodies with dogma; conferring of spiritual jurisdiction by the Crown (as in the late division of the Bishop of Australia's See); founding of bishoprics; dividing of parishes, &c.

β'. Disregard of unity: practical Donatism.

γ'. Disregard of dogma: truth made subjective and individual. *Αλήθεια* is become *Δόξα*, to which one man has as much right as another.

‘III. There is, in the distinctive system thus set up, no inward coherence and unity, but intestine opposition of formularies, the Prayer-book in the main re-

flecting, though faintly, the old Catholic system; the Articles and Homilies representing the intruding Protestant virus. But inasmuch as the whole system, such as it is, is founded on a *compromise*, this intestine opposition is often in the formularies themselves shaded down to an imbecile neutrality, while the different parties, who were to be held together in the joint use of ambiguous formularies by taking them each in their own sense, having a real and deep antagonism, the whole history of the Church of England for three hundred years reveals an inmost disunion and struggle: Puritans and High Church Establishmentarians; Calvinists and Arminians; Latitudinarians and Non-Jurors; Evangelicals and Orthodox. The very *ἀρχή* of belief and conduct of these parties is antagonistic.

‘*α’*. Further working of this opposition is seen in the absence of *theology* since the Reformation. *No one writer*, much less a *catena*, seems to have been possessed of a complete scheme of doctrine. Trace, for instance, the variations, defects, and inconsistencies about the Holy Eucharist in our best writers, Hooker, Andrewes, Bramhall, Bull, &c.; and the commentary on these supplied by the state of our chancels, and the mode of administering the Holy Eucharist throughout England. Or again, the teaching about Baptism, or Orders, or the Church.

‘*β’*. Further working still in the allowance of every description of heresy on the Protestant side, as respects

the whole church system and justification. (Heresy has before shown a marked disregard of consistency in dogma, of careful and reverential performance of sacraments, of respect to holy persons and things, as the early heretics, the Arians, Donatists. Compare rejection of the use of the cross; of chrism in confirmation and orders; of salt, &c., in baptism; of water in the Holy Eucharist.)

‘IV. But the following specific corruptions of dogma are chargeable on the English Church as a *communion*—not that many of her members have not protested against some of them, but the communion, viewed as a whole, is guilty of them all, having introduced or suffered them by the changes wrought at the Reformation.

‘*α*’. Denial of the Eucharistic Sacrifice;

‘*β*’. Denial of the Real Presence;

The original Eucharistic service of the English Church has been utterly dislocated and miserably maimed, in order to eject the former of these; and as to the latter, which besides has the closest connection with it, ambiguous language has been introduced there, and worse than ambiguous language into the Articles and rubrics. No one who is present at an ordinary celebration in an Anglican church, or is acquainted with Anglicans, will doubt what the almost general belief is on these two points. But even were the case far more favourable, the mere ab-

sence of clear teaching on such deeply important subjects would be condemnation enough.

‘γ’. Practical denial and universal disuse of the Priesthood;

‘δ’. Practical denial of the power of the keys;

‘ε’. Absence of a system of confession and guidance of the interior life;

‘As to these three points, no one, surely, can doubt what is the *real* teaching of the Church of England. If she held them, she could never send forth men to the practical work of the ministry without instruction in them. But no Anglican priest is taught by his bishop how to receive confessions. The whole subject is a vacuum in Anglican theology.

‘ς’. Correlative to the last, prevalence of the Lutheran doctrine of justification, which is as much supported by the Articles as the Catholic doctrine by the Prayer-book.

‘ζ’. Putting aside the Communion of Saints;

‘η’. Language about the seven sacraments; the gross impertinence of the 25th Article is unpar-donable; but supposing that here there is a contest about words, the Anglican Church has thought good, 1, to abolish the apostolic rite of anointing the sick; 2, to alter the ceremonies of baptism; 3, to abolish the chrism in confirmation, thereby rendering the sacramental validity of the rite doubtful at least; 4, to alter and

maim the rites in conferring orders, thereby producing the same doubt. Any one of these four the ancient Church of S. Augustine or S. Chrysostom would have accounted a heresy.

‘*θ*’. Rejection of the sacerdotal and episcopal robes;

‘*ι*’. In general, speaking “with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, and inconsistent precedents and principles but partially developed.” There is hardly a subject mooted at the Reformation on which this is not the case. Does it not amount to misprision of heresy?

‘V. Specific corruptions of discipline.

‘*α*’. Total absence of corrective discipline over the flock.

‘*β*’. Allowance of marriage after Orders; of bigamy, trigamy, &c., in bishops and clergy.

‘The violation of the Canons of the Catholic Church from the very first, in this grave respect, seems to have been shirked by all Anglican writers.

‘*γ*’. Prostitution of religious offices to those who are in avowed antagonism to the Church, *e.g.* marriage and burial; confirmation without confession, marriage without confirmation antecedent.

‘VI. General signs of *ἡθως*.

‘*α*’. Absence of moral theology, and of all that refers to the government and discipline of the inward man.

‘β’. Absence of religious Orders, and the whole principle of mortification.

‘γ’. Anti-sacerdotal, anti-sacramental, anti-ascetic character both of clergy and laity; *i.e.* the *living* Church of England is a system of complete personal independence as to belief and practice. There is one exception to this, that you may not believe or practise things which Rome has retained and we have given up. Anglicans are as sensitive about any approach to Rome, as Catholics in all ages have been about heresy.

‘δ’. The character of *sham* which seems to belong to the whole system, as claiming, in the letter of its documents, powers, which, *as a system*, it does not exercise, and which it will not warrant individual members in claiming or exercising, though they are most necessary to the maintenance of every-day spiritual life.’

It was only on copying out this paper for my history, in 1853, that I took note of a singular omission, which certainly was not intentional, though, it may be, very significant. And I recurred to this paper at times myself, whilst I continued an Anglican, and showed it to others, such as Manning, W. Palmer, Pollen, Wynne, yet no one remarked this omission. It is that while I state the *for* and *against* on the Catholic side, I make no statement of the *for* on the Anglican side. There are, ‘as to the Anglican claim

and position the following grounds of *dissatisfaction*,⁷ but the grounds of *satisfaction* nowhere appear. What was the reason of this? Undoubtedly it was not, as it might at first appear, any unfairness to the Anglican cause, but it was, I imagine, because Anglicanism being that in which one had grown up and been formed, it was assumed, even unconsciously, that it had a system and grounds to go upon, and such assumption was acted on. The same omission is observable in my book purporting to be a defence of the Anglican Church. From beginning to end there is no statement of the distinctive principles on which the defended system stands, over against its opponent. Thus, while an attack is made on this opponent, and the appurtenance of universal jurisdiction to the See of Rome is laid down as necessary to the maintenance of the Roman system, nothing whatever is stated as to the position taken up by Anglicanism, nothing defined as to what is necessary for its defence. It results that, as fact after fact is produced in seeming opposition to the claim of universal jurisdiction, the reader is led to suppose that the opposite cause is being proved, while *what that opposite cause is* does not even lie before his mind. As this paper was drawn up for my private guidance, it is obvious that the omission was not intended. I took upon trust that the communion in which I was born, educated, and beneficed, had a system, which lay implicitly in my mind, and was the real basis of my

conduct and opinions—so real that it lay, after all, deeper than all my inquiries. As it was, I brought in Anglicanism guilty of a tolerable number of heresies, of utter want of discipline, of the ruin of the Church so far as in it lay; yet even here I presupposed that *it had something to ruin*. Whereas had I carried out my own division, and not made that singular omission, had I proceeded to state ‘for the Anglican claim and position there are,’ it would have become apparent to me that here there was *nothing*—absolutely *nothing*. I write, indeed, under No. 3: ‘There is, in the *distinctive system thus set up*, no inward coherence and unity,’ as if I had before me *some* distinctive system, but this was mere self-deception, arising in the way above described; for where is the positive principle on which Anglicanism rests? What then was the system which I have mentioned as lying ‘implicitly in my mind, and as being the real basis of my conduct and opinions—so real that it lay, after all, deeper than all my inquiries.’ It was simply confusion, indefiniteness, fragments and *débris* of the Catholic system, preserved after the wreck of the Reformation, without any bond of coherence or *form*—just as Anglicanism has kept bishops and primates, and provinces, without caring to show whence they come—just as ordinary Protestantism takes the Bible as dropped down from heaven into its lap, not, as it is in truth, the Church’s book, whose authenticity, canon, and inspiration depend

on the Church's testimony. Into the hodge-podge of opinions which, like all other Anglicans, I held in 1845, rays of light were entering, which disclosed, indeed, more and more, the confusion and chaos of things, but did not yet enable me to see the whole landscape in order and harmony. When grace at length accomplished this task, I saw St. Peter's Chair to be the only centre of order, the only source of attraction and cohesion; but grace would not suffer reason to forestall or usurp her work.

It is worth observing what two persons of as great abilities and knowledge as any in the Anglican communion said to this paper of mine.

'October 11.—Went by train to Arundel, walked thence across the downs to Lavington, nine miles; got in at four: had a very pleasant evening with Archdeacon Manning, and on Friday I set before him my paper of difficulties. He replied nothing. And when I recurred to them in the evening I thought the tone of his "Apologia" indicated how much he felt them. He said the maintenance of *ideas* was more important to his mind than the maintenance of *facts*, in respect to extreme unction and chrism in confirmation. I suggested that in the Holy Eucharist the idea itself had not been maintained. He almost allowed this. When I told him of my purpose to publish on the whole doctrine of the Eucharist, and to try the issue on that point, he concurred, and said he would never advise in that case

to withdraw the book. I thought his approbation decided.'

That is, when a paper was brought before him impugning the whole position of the Anglican Church, and making it guilty of many heresies, he makes a single remark on a minute and subordinate point.

On the *against* of the Roman side, 'he remarked that he felt a good deal the second, third, and fourth of my difficulties—the last (the state of society, morals, religion) he alluded to repeatedly. The purity of married life in England a sort of set-off for the absence of virginal life. Nothing would ever drive Pusey and Keble out of the English Church. The subjective argument about the sanctity of individuals in the English Church worth nothing. All that Pusey was doing in maintaining the Real Presence, the Sacrifice, Confession, and Counsels of Perfection, was distinctively *Roman* and not English. Said he had never had to give absolution when called in to a sick-bed; could never get them far enough advanced for that; had given it to poor persons in health. Expressed his firm belief in the validity of English Orders: Courayer's book many years ago had seemed to him conclusive.' (Archdeacon Manning was ordained a priest by Cardinal Wiseman, just ten weeks after he became a Catholic, June 1851.) 'Altogether the state of his mind struck me as more than ever Roman. He thought, if there were a break-up of the

English Church, that the great mass would fall away.'

Now take a very different mind.

'Monday, October 15.—W. Palmer came, and stayed till Wednesday morning. Showed him my paper of difficulties. He first observed that they did not settle the claim of the Greek Church, and then, that the rest were of much weight, but did not *decide* the matter to his mind; that things could not be pushed to their *logical results*; that he felt there was something real in the English Church; that there was a genuine difference between our state and that of Presbyterians; maintained that the English Church taught what was enough, abstractedly, for salvation.'

Not much comfort for an uneasy Anglican to be got out of these two.

In the meantime, I set to work on St. Thomas, Suarez, and Vasquez on the Holy Eucharist. Three months pass happily in this way. My intention is thus expressed:—

'October 28.—I seem now to have a definite object. I always wished the battle to be fought on that point, and I hope either to raise the doctrine of the English Church, or to be cast out for maintaining the Catholic Faith: either way a gain.'

To raise the doctrine of the communion to which one belonged. Herein lay the secret thought of Puseyism; herein the root of a certain pride and self-sufficiency

which it was at least hard for those who thought themselves called to such a task not to fall into.

However, the issue thus adjourned, I was comparatively tranquil, and occupied; and I write:—

‘January 6, 1850.—During all this time I have been in good spirits, working continually on Suarez, and of late on Vasquez, to obtain a complete view of the Holy Eucharist before I approach the Fathers seriatim.’

The result of these three months I drew up in a paper written February 18 and two next days. I had got rid of one of the most mischievous Puseyite assertions, that the Real Presence was distinct from the doctrine of transubstantiation; on the contrary, I here, after considerable pains, came to see clearly that the doctrine of transubstantiation was the most accurate and most spiritual exposition of the Real Presence. But further, this close study of the Schoolmen, even for so short a time, gave my mind an apprehension and a grasp of *principles* which it had not before possessed. I saw every point of the subject accurately defined, severed off from all strange matter, viewed on every side, and viewed as part of a whole. And in this process I came to feel how vague and indeterminate had been the state of mind in which I had dipped into the Fathers. One might have read them thus for a whole life-time, without coming to any practical conclusion. It was quite otherwise with studying the Schoolmen.

February 14, 1850.—I write:—‘The bent of my mind (in the preceding year) more than ever towards dogmatic theology, and the greatness of the Schoolmen has dawned upon it. They bid fair to eclipse the Fathers, in my estimation. Their completeness, accuracy, and system strike me. I speak of St. Thomas and his school.’

This as to studies. As to state of mind, there is the following entry:—

February 12.—‘Ah, woe is me that I am thirty-seven!

‘Not that life is so far advanced, but that in all these years, wherein I have had grace and reason, youth and health, leisure and love for study, so little, so very little, has been done.

‘I have been so long feeling that my life was without rule, my study without fixed object and arrangement, and yet this goes on.

‘I have been so long, now for nigh six years, in spite of myself, involved in doubts the most harassing on matters of the nearest concern.

‘My life has been one unceasing cry in these years—“O send forth Thy light and Thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto Thy holy hill and Thy dwelling, and that I may go to the altar of God.”

“The Altar of God,” and the “Bread of Life,” where are they? That one should have a doubt

about this! that the doubt should not yield to prayer! that it should last for years!’

And on *February* 14.—‘As to my own mind I find it in a curious state, which must surely be transitional. I am profoundly dissatisfied with the Anglican Church; its first principles, so far as it has any, seem to me founded on misconceptions of doctrine, and confusion as to the proper relation between the civil and spiritual power, and, more than all, its moral atmosphere chokes me. Again, as to the Roman Church, I am at one with it on principles. I admire its spirit of asceticism, and its maintenance of independence. I think the Papal Primacy of *divine* institution, and that in the doctrinal controversies between the two communions Rome is right, especially as to the whole sacramental and sacerdotal system, and justification. And yet I feel unable simply to accept Rome as *the Church*; unable to throw myself upon her with the calm conviction that I am doing right, and quitting a heresy and a schism. Intellect points that way, but heart and will are divided, not through any fear of consequences as to temporal interests, but through incomplete conviction; and for such a step I feel that the whole Trinity within one body, soul, and spirit should be of accord. What can I do but wait, and pray—“O send out Thy light and Thy truth”?’

At this time I received an important letter from the late Mr. Baron Alderson, but before I insert it let

me say how on recording this name there comes back upon me, as the perfume from a bed of violets, the memory of numberless acts of kindness which I received from him during a long course of years. And with him I must associate another, the late Mr. Justice Coleridge, of whom I may say the same. In both these two men, of rare ability, and much rarer goodness, I always felt that I had true friends and wise counsellors. They stood together as godfathers to one of my children ; there was nothing concerning myself or those dear to me which I would not have trusted to either of them. Yet greater are my obligations to an older friend than either of them, my dear and ever-loved tutor at Eton, the Rev. E. Coleridge, to whom I dedicated my last defence of the Church of England, as ‘fervent in love, in labours unwearied, for the sacred cause of our Mother the Church.’ How can one remember such friends without grieving at the loss of them? But it came, and in this wise. Once in talking with my friend the late W. Palmer, I asked him what effect his becoming a Catholic had had upon his relations with those who had not become so: he replied at once, that they were all either ‘snapped or frozen.’ That also is my own experience; and even in the cases mentioned above it took place. But He who created friendship itself will repay the loss of it.

Mr. Baron Alderson’s letter runs thus:—

‘PARK CRESCENT: February 10, 1856.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Though you don’t directly ask me, as our long friendship and attachment might well warrant you in doing, the two questions in your letter to Lady A., I will readily answer them to the best of my power. In my opinion it is not difficult to do so.

‘You ask, 1st—If two individuals differ about the interpretation of Scripture on a point involving a cardinal doctrine or practice, who is to decide what is the right interpretation?

‘2ndly—You repeat the question, applying it to two Churches.

‘I answer thus. 1st, as to the case of individuals who differ. But, before I do this, I must begin by defining the terms on which I am to answer. If you mean by “determine” the fixing the meaning so absolutely as to preclude *all right of private judgment altogether*, I answer—No one, but the universal Church of Christ in General Council assembled. To that tribunal, as I believe, Christ has annexed the gift of perfect infallibility—by his promise, “Lo, I am with you, even unto the end.” My private belief is that there is no *certainty* that there ever was more than one such Council, and that is the one in the Acts of the Apostles. At any rate, however, the existence of any such real General Council does not extend very far down in the history of the Church; and since the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches it cannot have existed.

‘Absolute infallibility is therefore “in abeyance,” as the lawyers call it, till Christ shall come to reunite his divided (*ehou !*) Church once more.

‘But if by “determine” you mean (as I think you really must mean) the fixing the meaning of the disputed passage so as that a sincere and prudent man *ought* to surrender his private opinion to the determining authority, I answer that I think he ought to do so to the authority of the elder (even if not general) Councils of the Church; to the united opinion of various Churches; to the opinion of the Church of the country in which he lives; to that of learned members of his own Church. I have put them down according to my notions of precedence and weight. If they, unhappily, differ, he must exercise a firm, but humble judgment, and decide for himself; but, of course, between their conflicting authorities—not something differing from both. I hold none of them to be infallible, except really general Councils of the universal Church. If any Council claims to be that, I claim only to examine that pretension. If I think the claim established, I bow *implicitly* to its decree. As to all others, I claim to examine both the extent of their authority and the accordance of their decree with Scripture. But if the authority be high, I ought much to distrust—and I should, I hope, practically distrust—my own judgment altogether.

‘As to individuals differing, there is also this

further to be observed. The Church of the country in which they dwell has authority to pronounce her decision between them, to be obeyed under the penalty of exclusion from her communion.

‘2ndly.—The differences between independent Churches stand upon the same principles and are to be settled in like manner.

‘The appeal is to the opinion of the whole Church; to be collected from general practice and the voice of antiquity; but with the *right* of judgment—to be exercised by a wise and prudent and sincere Church, in like manner as by wise, prudent, and sincere men.

‘I presume the Church of England doubts, as I do, whether it be clearly made out that any Council, save that presided over by St. James, ever was really a General Council of the *whole* Church—so as to be infallible.

‘But I doubt not that she holds, as I do, that she is practically bound by the “quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,” of antiquity; and that the nearer any authority or any Council approaches to that, the more weight ought its opinion to receive.

‘A Church erring may, by the independent action of any other Church, be excluded from communion with it. But no one branch of the Catholic Church can exclude by its command one Church from communion with any other branch of the

Church Catholic *except its own*. If there were a real General Council, such Council might exclude the erring Church from all other communion, just as any National Church can exclude an erring individual from communion with *all* other members of its body.

‘Thus, therefore, I answer your two questions, and I hope I leave you in no mistake as to my views on this subject.

‘I trust we shall not be found to differ very materially.

‘Faithfully yours,

‘E. H. ALDERSON.’

CHAPTER VII.

DISCOVERY THAT MY TENT WAS PITCHED UPON AN
ICEBERG.

THE prayer was not in vain, though it seemed to be long ere it was answered. And now it may be seen how man proposes and God disposes. I had been for nearly five years engaged with all my power on this controversy between the Anglican Church and Catholicism, yet had got no further than the above, and now the elucidation was to come by a sudden unblinding of the eyes on the very simplest point, one which it would be thought a student of such a controversy ought to have secured at the very beginning of his work. After drawing up, on February 18-20, the position which I had reached in my study about the Blessed Eucharist—the identity, that is, of Transubstantiation with the Real Presence, as the kernel of my future work that was to bring matters to an issue—I sent it to Archdeacon Manning for his judgment, and on ‘February 21 determined to go on with Suarez on the Forma, and the rest, Diss. 57, abstracting as I went, to complete my view before approaching the Fathers.’ Six days later, Feb-

ruary 27, 'as I was reading Suarez, took up Cardwell and Gibson, and found overwhelming proof of the Sovereign being made by English law—accepted and acted on by the Church—the source of spiritual jurisdiction and the supreme judge of doctrine. This seems the foundation of Anglicanism. Thought of writing about it. Reading Gibson, Thursday, and Friday, Maskell's first letter, which confirmed this view, and Saturday, Suarez on that same point, in "De Erroribus Sectæ Anglicanæ." It has been cast in our teeth from the beginning. Now this making the Sovereign *Pope*, viewed not as an abuse of those in power, but as the real basis of Anglicanism, alters the whole face of things. My mind, the last four days, has been thoroughly occupied with it.'

From this time forth, my whole solicitude was to be sure whether this was indeed the fact. If it *was*, all doubt and controversy were at an end. I applied at once, with all my might, to St. Thomas and Suarez to get a clear view of Order and Jurisdiction, and their respective powers, and to the volume of Suarez 'De Erroribus Sectæ Anglicanæ.' The result of these was a pamphlet on the 'Royal Supremacy' (written March 22–26) 'in reference to the Two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction.' It went into the subject with the closeness and accuracy which I had just learnt from the study of these two authors, and certainly made minced-meat of the Anglican position. No one, however, took it up, or

attempted any answer on the Anglican side; for it was an appeal to the theological mind, and this has no existence in Anglicanism.

I sent my pamphlet on the 'Royal Supremacy' to a number of friends. It is sufficient to enumerate as among them Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey, Archdeacons R. Wilberforce and Manning, Judges Alderson and Coleridge, Mr. Gladstone, &c. I also sent it to Dr. Wiseman, and from him I received the following reply:—

'BEXHILL: April 22, 1850.

'DEAR SIR,—I received your pamphlet and letter here in Sussex, which must account for a little delay in replying. I have been ordered to get a little repose of body and mind after the duties of Lent and Easter, but must return to London, where I will post this, and where any letter will reach me. I think sincerely that you have struck out the right distinction conveyed in the disclaimers of *spiritual* rights by Elizabeth and Anglican divines. The distinction between Order and Jurisdiction was still understood, and, as it were, instinctive at that period from Catholic traditions, or rather recollections; and everyone would understand what was meant by the power claimed and by that disclaimed. It is clear that nowadays, except amongst *us*, the distinction is unknown, or rather denied. Dr. Pusey, if I remember right—and many others, men of learning—maintain that a bishop, in virtue of ordination, has full

possession of all episcopal rights, and a priest of all sacerdotal rights. You have, I am sure, therefore done good service, by separating the two powers of the priesthood, and thus at once removing the erroneous interpretation affixed to the Acts which are taken to limit the Supremacy.

‘With regard to the manner of stating the difference, I find it correct. I should only fear that the more detailed explanation of the power of Order at page 15 *sqq.* will be found complex and abstruse by persons who have never read nor thought on the subject; but it will probably make such read and think further.

‘There are one or two points which I will take the liberty of slightly adverting to.

‘It has been often said that the Church of England, while it denies to the Pope a supremacy of jurisdiction, or the headship as a ruler of the universal Church, does not refuse him a supremacy of honour and precedence, but is ready to acknowledge him, if he would rest contented therewith, for *Primus inter pares*, and even more in the episcopacy, and perhaps allow a patriarchal superiority, without appellate jurisdiction. Hence many Anglicans would perhaps allow him the title of *Patriarch of the West*; but surely this is *pre-eminence*, which all the Acts and the Oath of Supremacy deny him. If this come not under the head of “*Pre-eminence*, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual,” what is meant by this term, as distinguished from “*Superiority*,” “*Authority*,” &c. ?

‘Is it not, therefore, a necessary part of the “Supremacy,” and a binding article of the Church of England that the Pope is nothing more to England than the “Bishop of Rome,” and in the same sense, and to the same extent, as the Bishop of Cambrai or of Valencia? Is not every and any recognition of him in a spiritual or ecclesiastical capacity, intermediate between his Papal headship of the Church and a simple local bishop’s, excluded by that oath, and incompatible with the Anglican Church theory? In other words, in *this*, the Archbishop of Canterbury is *pre-eminent* to the Bishop of Rome, and you cannot recognise in the latter any supremacy, even of honour. This would be, I suppose, exactly the Low Church or Evangelical view.

‘The next point on which I will take the liberty of suggesting a few reflections is the *theory* of the source of Supremacy.

‘It is evident that Hooker considered it held by delegation from the Church of England. “It was by public consent annexed unto the king’s royal seat and crown.”

‘This supposes a theory akin to the well-known one in regard to civil authority, that the supreme power consists of the sum of separate rights vested in one person or body, *e.g.* national government is the union by delegation, in one person or more, of the *natural* rights and jurisdiction of the heads of families, &c.; and so the king holds royal supremacy

in spirituals by virtue of a commission vested in him by the holders of inferior and distinct jurisdictions.

‘This theory is totally at variance with the royal Tudor theory, which manifestly considers the supremacy as a Divine right inherent in the Crown—a part essentially of the *Regale*. The grounds of the theory are even stated; the power given to godly princes in the Old Law, and that exercised by the early Christian emperors.

‘This *second* point you have sufficiently examined and disproved, as any argument in this matter. But do not many, not merely Scriptural Protestants, but learned men of High Church principles build a great deal on the first; and if so, would it not be right to meet this argument? It is reported that Dr. Pusey is going to publish on the Supremacy, and if he is going to prove it of Divine right, he must go to the *Old Testament*. Yet surely it will be found that only two kings, David and Solomon, exercised any authority in ordering of sacerdotal matters. The other godly kings restored the worship, laws, and priesthood after political or religious convulsions. But the two kings just mentioned, who did much more, were prophets and inspired men as well as kings, and thus had special delegation from God (as Samuel before them had possessed) in things spiritual. But such powers are special and not transmissible, nor such as to form an example. Any theory, therefore, which may now be put forth should be

narrowly watched, to see on what basis it is placed, whether on Divine Right or ecclesiastical delegation.

‘A Catholic would view the contending claims thus. There are two powers that claim supremacy in this country—the Papal and the Royal. To raise a reasonable question, there should be at least parity of case between them—sufficient equality of grounds to make it matter of discussion. If the trial has to rest on scriptural grounds, the Catholic adduces the well-known words addressed to Peter, and then says, “If you admit a supremacy to be necessary, but deny these charges sufficient to establish it in St. Peter, quote me other passages *stronger*, in which it is bestowed on temporal princes.” If it has to be a mere question of ecclesiastical reference, we must still require as strong declarations of the Fathers in favour of imperial as we can give of papal Supremacy.

‘I fear, however, that the whole argument results in this. Starting from the point that the English Church is, and must be, a part of the true Church (because it would be disloyal to think otherwise), it follows that whatever forms part of her recognised system must be right, and consequently scriptural. Assuming that she is an Apostolic branch of the Church, whatever is now found to exist in her must be considered as primitive. The task is not to investigate what was the primitive doctrine of the Church, but to show that it must have been what now exists.

‘I am sure, however, that we had better leave the whole of these discussions in the hands of yourself, Mr. Maskell, &c., and that you will not allow the controversy to end, as long as it is attempted to involve it in sophism or in paradox. The latter Mr. Irons has successfully attempted, and I fear the former will yet be tried.

‘Allow me to conclude with the expression of my sincere hope that practical results will flow from these theoretical discussions, and that if any shall become satisfied of the untenableness of the Anglican position, Divine Grace may be granted them, to act firmly upon their convictions.

‘I am, yours very faithfully,

‘N. WISEMAN.

‘I fear this hurried letter will not, on many points, clearly convey my meaning.’

From Mr. Justice Coleridge I received two letters which may represent not only his own feeling, but that of many others at the time towards me in consequence of that publication—the only sort of answer which it got.

‘PARK CRESCENT: May 7, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I am really concerned not to have thanked you before for your pamphlet, nor answered your last letter. Want of time is my real and true excuse. It is now past eleven, and my first leisure time for the day from my professional work.

You may believe me that I am somewhat tired, and if I sit up late, I cannot sleep. I write now merely to say that I am alive and not *neglecting* your call, though not answering it. I will do so, I hope, in a night or two. Meantime, I earnestly desire that you should look on both sides of religious questions and duties. After all, men of inquiring and subtle minds have their temptation, even when they seem to be busy only in the investigation of truth. They may both over-estimate the importance of the particular inquiry, and the conditions under which it is to be pursued, and the degree of success with which they may be allowed to hunt after it.

‘Best regards to Mrs. Allies, and God bless my unseen Basil.

‘Yours very truly,

‘J. T. COLERIDGE.’

‘PARK CRESCENT: May 24, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I have delayed to answer your letter for an unreasonable time as it should seem; and as it would have been, if I were not bound to husband my leisure a little, and if I had not a painful conviction that my writing to you on controversial subjects would do you no good, and, perchance, might do myself some harm. I know the imputation I lay myself open to by these last words as regards myself—that I am not ready to follow out the truth by an honest inquiry to any

conclusion to which it may lead. I should be sorry to deserve this, and I hope I do not. I know where God has placed me, and that in that sphere and lot He has given me manifold and obvious duties to perform. I look at my country parish, where my little property is, and see a poor clergy, schools ill-supplied, many ignorant people willing to be taught, and I feel I can do them and myself, by God's grace, some good now; and I ought not to risk a change which would put an end to all this, unless upon a conviction based upon an inquiry, and resulting from a knowledge of all the circumstances, *quite out of my power to attain to*, or follow out. Mere dissatisfaction with the practice of our own clergy, or with such things as the appointment or conduct of our bishops, or even scruples at parts of our theory, are not enough. I believe, judging from what lights I have, that there is no difficulty attendant on these, which I should not find more than matched, if I were to know as much either of Greece or Rome.

'I will freely confess to you that my mind has been much affected by what I have observed in the conduct of those whom, merely for convenience, I may denominate Seceders. I think I perceive an unfairness in the mode of their inquiry and reasoning. Even my little light lets me see that in the Roman history and practice are difficulties which produce marvellously little effect on the minds of men, who are hypercritical enough with things of

the same sort in the English history. Further, I see with great regret a tone of personal unkindness and severity towards those who disagree with them, even where no provocation has been given, beyond that fact of disagreement, and which I should have said was foreign to the former nature of those who display it. I will not conceal that the treatment of Dr. Pusey seems to me a strong instance of this. Further, I see a spirit of proselytism, and appealing to the public, which is strange to me in a matter I should have thought personally so painful; where a man's justification to himself is not, I should have thought, to be sought in polemic victory, and where the duty of converting others does not begin till all one's own struggles and scruples are over, and more than that, till some period of trial has ended in complete satisfaction at one's own change.

‘These, and such observations as these, I own, fill me with distrust.

‘Further, I must say that in such points as my own professional habits have given me more acquaintance with, than in mere theology, I see conclusions drawn, as it seems to me, very inaccurately and hastily. Acts of Parliament I see construed without the least reference to those conditions of construction which lawyers think necessary to impose on themselves, and so conclusions drawn to which I could not, as a Judge, agree, if I had to expound them judicially.

‘ Lastly, I am startled to see with what undoubting ease and positiveness conclusions are drawn in limitation, as it seems to me, of God’s ways with the Church, from what I may call parchment premises ; and if I am startled at this in itself, I am more pained when I think of the *killing* doubts and desolating despair, it may be, which are scattered about in consequence.

‘ Then I ask myself, had the clergy of England from the Reformation taken the Prayer Book in hand and heart, and faithfully carried out what is there assumed or directed ; had these Seceders really made their profession the duty and business of their lives from morning to evening, as the lawyer, the doctor, or the merchant do theirs ; would England have been, or be what she is, should we probably have been in a situation to complain of ? I answer myself, *certainly* not, there is nothing I am more sure of. State every theory you please of the difficulties and disadvantages of our population and the imperfections of our Church, all would have been as nothing if we had but a clergy really one and all in their work. From this the practical conclusion, to my own mind and for myself, is quite clear—*my* distress and difficulties will not be removed by joining the Seceders.

‘ Now, my dear Allies, I am conscious that I may have said some things you will be disposed to smile at, some that will have given you pain ; I shall not

be angry if you so treat the former, and I hope you will forgive the latter. You would be able to do this without difficulty, if you knew with what affectionate sorrow I regard your course, and how I think of our poor dear Basil.

‘ May God guide and bless you both is the sincere prayer of

‘ Your affectionate friend,

‘ J. T. COLERIDGE.’

I find the following from Archdeacon R. Wilberforce. I suppose there was no one in the Anglican Church more desirous at that time to defend her, or more able. This is all he could say :—

‘ BURTON AGNES : Ascension Day.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I see you were quite exact in your statement : I spoke from memory when I thought you had included the African canons, which were, no doubt, received by the early Church ; but not, I think, referred to by the V. Can. of Chalcedon. I suppose Africanism was equivalent to Gallicanism ; and it is one of my main difficulties in the Roman system, that its applicability for modern times rests on the system of Ultramontaniam, whereas it is dovetailed on to antiquity by the system of Gallicanism. Is not this so, and how can it be got over ?

‘ You will say our own difficulties are greater. I should be sorry to have to defend Parker’s consecration against you. The points to which I have

been used to refer are, (1st) that Queen Mary had been guilty of irregularities, which excused in some measure what followed; (2ndly) that jurisdiction not being absolutely essential, the unjust requirements of Rome justified the infraction of common rules. But I suppose that the thing which most weighs with men is the subsequent history of the English Church, which seems incompatible with a belief that it was a mere creature of Royalty. We seem now, however, to be come upon a set of events which are likely enough to try the tension of the system, and if the Church fails in its duty, there is not a doubt the argument will tell against its origin.

‘My answer to your first question would be that, by assenting to the preamble of 24 Henry VIII., the Crown had bound itself to the principle that the spirituality was to judge of doctrine. Herein, then, it differed from the Pope, who supposed himself the judge of doctrine. And this is the very point which the bishops are calling for in this new Court of Appeal which they have agreed to support. Unless they get this, I don’t understand how the Church can go on at all as a Spiritual Community.

‘Believe me to remain, my dear Sir,

‘Very sincerely yours,

‘RT. WILBERFORCE.

‘REV. T. W. ALLIES.’

The following is from Dr. Forbes, then Bishop of Brechin :—

‘DUNDEE: May 16.

‘MY DEAR MR. ALLIES,—I find my hands so fully occupied that I cannot go into your matter. I venture to enclose a letter from my brother on the subject of your note to me.

‘If our jurisdiction is really defective, why have they not a Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury? It is so in the East, and where not an actuality, they keep up the form by way of protest. But why was not this done at the Reformation? I do not think we can push your technical grounds so far as you would wish, otherwise it would invalidate the Pope’s own orders. One of the Popes was consecrated by only two bishops and a presbyter—one of the regular electors, the Bishop of Ostia, not having at the time been consecrated. This, on *strict* rules, would invalidate his orders. But the acceptance by the Church has ratified it. I enclose a lot of your letters which I forgot to return you. I am very anxious to hear how things are going on.

‘Believe me, yours most truly,

‘ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF BRECHIN.’

Out of many letters written to me at this time by Archdeacon Manning, showing how the Royal Supremacy affected him, I quote one of April 5, in which he says:—

‘Do take up your work again, and show that these “royal vicars” were subjects of another sovereignty, and that only the external coercion, not the

internal judgment, were in their hands. These men do not believe the Catholic Church to be infallible ; and therefore see no infidelity in giving doctrinal jurisdiction to princes. You will see that the clergy here have moved well. There is great goodness and firmness of heart in many, but all falls within the four seas.

‘The Royal Supremacy seems to me exhausted by 1688, 1828, 1829, and the whole subsequent development of religious and civil dissolution. The Gorham case is the Dirige.

‘Ever yours affectionately,

‘H. E. M.’

Dr. Pusey never could be brought to face the question. He wrote, indeed, this year a *first part* upon ‘the Royal Supremacy not an arbitrary authority, but limited by the laws of the Church, of which Kings are members.’ But this first part only quoted ancient precedents totally removed in principle from the relation set up between Church and State by the Henrician and Elizabethan settlement ; and he never went on in a *second part* to treat of this settlement and the actual condition of things. During the thirty years which have since elapsed he has preserved silence on that subject—a silence which I venture to think more significant than any defence could have been. Clearly the subject would not bear touching ; but perhaps it might be *ignored*. Therefore he contented himself with settling the question of jurisdic-

tion, as far as it touched himself *in foro interiori*, by hearing confessions wherever he pleased, as if every priest had, in virtue of his priesthood, unlimited license to hear all confessions and grant absolution, and by disregarding the fact that even were his priesthood real, all his absolutions would be null and void. In other words, he assumed to himself, within his own communion, a power which in the Catholic Church is possessed by the Pope alone. Many, also, since have followed his example; but none have ventured to enter into the whole subject of spiritual jurisdiction, and justify either the Anglican position in general, or their own practice in particular; they have preferred to *ignore* both points, and assume each in their own case papal faculties.

To revert to my narrative: the Royal Supremacy, the true nature of which I had at length realised, existed all along, and was, indeed, with regard to church government, the very work accomplished at the Reformation as the basis of the Anglican Establishment. How then was it that I did not meet it *in limine*? For two reasons, I believe. First, because men, my superiors by far in character, reputation, learning, age, wrote and spoke, and replied when consulted, that it was far otherwise, and I had naturally assumed their hypothesis. And secondly, nothing being taught in Anglicanism systematically, an individual mind, with the very honestest intentions to arrive at the truth, did not

proceed to the subject in any logical order. Puseyism began its course, in the earlier 'Tracts for the Times,' in asserting the spiritual order's independence of the civil. I at once received the principle as indubitable, as indeed it was; but the fallacy lay in applying it to Anglicanism, which sprang from its exact contradiction; and I was the more confirmed in this fallacy by observing that the Low Church party and the Whig politicians, opposed in all things to our religious views in general, maintained the Royal Supremacy in this sense, and made it their great arm against us. I touched, therefore, the consideration which was absolutely determining to my own mind, when I said above, 'this making the sovereign Pope, viewed not as the abuse of those in power, but as the real basis of Anglicanism, alters the whole face of things.' When Cardinal Orioli talking with Wynne and myself at Naples, the August before, had said to me, 'How is it that you who object to a Pope have *una Papessa*?' I had repudiated as a calumny what I now came to see was the fact—a fact, indeed, objected to Anglicanism from the beginning.

Thus the case of *Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter* had brought out incidentally the nature and extent of the Royal Prerogative, which I felt at once to preclude my remaining in the Anglican Establishment, independently of the decision itself on the question of Baptismal Regeneration. My discovery being on February 27, preceded the actual delivery

of that decision on March 8 by nine days. On April 2, 1850, I write: 'As for myself, since the Royal Supremacy, as the basis of Anglicanism, has broken upon me, I have had but one view—that it *annihilates* us as a Church: it seems, moreover, to supply the key that was wanting to our whole state. I no longer wonder at the dishonesty of our formularies, at the division of principle in the various parties comprising our community, at the slight hold which the Church system has on our people; in fact, at any or all the evils which afflict us. As to the judgment of the Privy Council in favour of Gorham, of course it involves us, if unreversed, in heresy; but important as it is, it seems to me quite subordinate to the question of the Supremacy itself.'

In the mean time another mind had arrived by a shorter road at the conclusion which it had cost me so much time, pains, prayer, and suffering to reach. On February 9, 1850, my wife 'of her own accord told me she was satisfied of the falsity of Anglicanism. Thus has she outstripped me.' 'On March 16, she took me somewhat aback by expressing her complete conviction that we were a sham, that she could not feel any reality in our ordinances, and that she wished to go over immediately. I urged a month's delay for consideration.' On February 14, I wrote thus: 'I know not how it is that I have never put down anything on a point so important as the relation of my wife to myself in our views of spiritual matters.'

Here a great change has taken place, not observed by myself alone. In a place like Launton, where we live so much to ourselves, and where every act of one is seen and felt by the other, any want of sympathy must quickly come to light. Accordingly, for many years she resisted very much my advance towards Catholic views, yet was drawn along gradually, as it were in spite of herself. At one time the daily prayers, at another the weekly communions, were too much for her; then the incipient tendency to Rome was a subject of irritation. But now, for some time, more than a year at least, all this has subsided, and, as may be seen by what is said above, she appears to go beyond me. She has always been very quick in leaping to conclusions, and generally right, moreover: it is a great blessing and gift of Providence that there is harmony on so vital a subject between us: I once thought it would not have been so.'

In fact so entirely was I in doubt as to her feelings, so entirely also had I abstained from any attempt directly to influence her mind, that the first intimation I received of what her real judgment was I got from a letter to a cousin who was like a sister to us, which I opened on the supposition of its containing something on the subject, and which said, 'If Tom does not make haste I shall go over before him.' This was since that cousin had left us in December.

How had so great a change been wrought? I believe that I had served as a reflecting lens for her since we had been married. It is not, I suppose, by the way of study that either the female sex in general, or the poor, or the great mass of mankind, are intended to arrive at truth. In this case it has often at least occurred to me that some such process as the following took place. Marrying very young, and with religious views totally unformed, she naturally looked to her husband for guidance in such matters. Now she was a close witness, for eight years, of the mental conflict which I had to go through; of my being disgraced in London for going farther than the Bishop of London's 'moderate Oxford,' that is, so much Puseyism as tended to make him a greater man than he was before; of my going down to a neglected country parish, and making an attempt to humanise and christianise it, which totally failed; of the gradual accretion of Catholic principles and practices, which I took up; of the wretchedness produced in me by the inadequacy of Anglican rites; of the accounts which I gave of death-beds; of studies in the Roman controversy which, while they resulted in what professed to be a defence of Anglicanism, left me more wretched, if possible, than when I entered upon them; of counter-experiences in the actual Catholicism of the Continent which pointed to that as the true Church in as great a degree as the past experiences of Anglicanism

discredited that form of religion; of most unfair treatment undergone for the free exhibition of these conclusions, and now at last of a community torn to pieces by intestine divisions. Then again she found a comfort in Catholic books of devotion which was wanting to the Anglican. And so grace acting in and through all these means, she saw the conclusion before I did, having perhaps less obstinacy and more simplicity; less *amour propre* involved, and less power to endure long-continued suspense, with, besides, no intellectual *obex*, such as mine on the Primacy.

But to return. Begging of her a month's delay, I was looking round to see what resistance would be made to the Gorham Judgment. It came out on the 8th of March. On the 12th I went into Oxford to hear what was going on: it was not much: thence to London, where I found Archdeacon Manning and H. Wilberforce drawing up their resolutions; but no general meeting could be held, it was said, as Easter, which was on March 31st that year, was fast approaching, and all action must be deferred till after it. G. Denison published in the *Times* a fiery protest, which I had printed, and read in church on Sunday, the 17th, and sent copies of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Oxford, and my friends. After Easter I went to Oxford and London again—still no general meeting of the clergy; nothing, that I could find out, was to be *done*:

ferocious grumbles of the party, but no action : a vast number of tracts and pamphlets : laments over the injured faith of the Church : distress of individuals : but all this grief and indignation far within the mark of *doing* anything. The political and the religious adversary alike could well afford to pass them over in silence, and gather the fruits of what was a real victory to the Royal Supremacy on the one hand, and to the Evangelical party on the other. All that I stayed for was to see whether anything would be *done* ; and week after week continued inaction lay upon the defenders of the Creed, who showed more and more plainly that their fight with the State would stop far short of endangering the safe reception of their tithes and rents. There was at this time a talk of a new Court of Appeal, which some Bishops were disposed to beg of the State. It all fell through. In fact the whole result of the opposition made by the great party who saw their belief in the Anglican Church's orthodoxy utterly wrecked by the Gorham Judgment, and their supposition that the Anglican Church had any authority still more utterly destroyed by the issue of a personal judgment upon doctrine by the Queen, was the issue of the propositions above mentioned. These propositions stated that 'To admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an Article of the Creed, contradictory of the essential meaning of that Article, is in truth and in fact to abandon that Article : ' and

‘inasmuch as the Faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed destroys the Divine foundation upon which alone the entire Faith is propounded by the Church;’ and ‘any portion of the Church, which does so abandon the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that Article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church.’

This manifesto was signed by thirteen persons, whose names are : H. E. Manning, R. J. Wilberforce, Thomas Thorp, W. H. Mill, E. B. Pusey, John Keble, W. Dodsworth, W. J. E. Bennett, H. W. Wilberforce, J. C. Talbot, Richard Cavendish, Edward Badeley, and James R. Hope. Thirty years have now passed ; and the Church of England has most obediently submitted both to the Gorham decision itself and to the right of the Queen to be Supreme Judge in matters of Christian doctrine. The Anglican Convocation has met yearly, but has never ventured to dispute either the decision, or the right of the civil power to issue it. Moreover, of the thirteen signatures, six attested their sincerity by submitting to the Catholic Church : seven remained Anglicans ; and lastly, three only survive—Cardinal Manning, Dr. Pusey, and the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett.

I cannot record this history without thinking of

the text: 'Two women shall be grinding at the mill: one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.'

Thus we got to the middle of May: on the 11th I met at Eton a large number of Coleridge's old pupils assembled to fête his fiftieth birthday. Taking up my wife from Speen after this, I had no sooner got home than she told me she could wait no longer; that her mind was quite made up; and that she must be received immediately. I wrote at once to Father Newman to ask whether he could meet her in London.

He replied as follows:—

'ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM: May 23, 1850.

'MY DEAR ALLIES,—Your most welcome letter only came this morning; and, while it gave me most sincere pleasure, it vexed me much to think that I should not be in town this week.

'In truth I have been quite knocked up with my lectures. I have two to do for next week, hardly begun, and, though I am usually well, a matter of this kind generally oversets me. I have face-ache at night, and am much pulled down; and, did I attempt to go to town till next week, I am certain I should not have my lectures ready for the days appointed. I was writing till the last minute before delivering my last.

'It is a great grief to me to keep Mrs. Allies in suspense, for I know how painful a time that is.

However, I will receive her, if all is well and it suits her, early on Thursday morning, Corpus Christi Day, if she wishes it. I cannot come up before. Wednesday is St. Philip's Day, our Founder. I keep it here, and go up to King William Street in the evening, when I have Dr. Wiseman at supper as my guest.

‘I inclose a little book for Mrs. Allies and a medal — let her wear it, and every day use the Memorare, if she can find it in the “Golden Manual,” kissing it. And let her once a day say the Litany of Penance in the “Golden Manual.”’

‘I write this on the supposition she resolves to wait till next week, but she may prefer to be received at once. There is a quiet old priest, called Wilds, who received a friend of mine close to Dr. Wiseman's (10 Upper John Street). I don't think I should like you to mention my name as sending you, lest he should not be able to refuse you, since he is very old. He would receive you very kindly, if you said you were a friend of mine and began talking of me.

‘Ever yours affectionately,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN.

‘P.S.—I shall say Mass for Mrs. Allies and my other friend's wife on Sunday, at 7 A.M.’

In consequence of Father Newman's inability to go to London I accompanied my wife to Mr. Wilds, on Friday, May 24th, where he received her with con-

ditional baptism. As we left his door she turned to me and said, 'Now you are a heretic and I am not.' A few days later, on Corpus Christi, she received confirmation from Bishop Wiseman at Golden Square, where we breakfasted, and went afterwards to High Mass at St. George's. Dr. Wiseman preached on the Real Presence, and I was struck with everybody seeming to believe and realise the doctrine. The whole church felt it, and sympathised with it, whereas in Puseyism it was the private opinion of individuals. As F. Hutchison very wittily said, 'Puseyites ought to write up on a church door, *Real Presence here*, as we write *Indulgentia plenaria quotidiana*.' Yet that day I previously attended and communicated at half-past-ten at Tichfield Street, nor did I till two months later lose the sense of reality in Anglican ordinances.

When I consented, without further delay, to my wife's becoming a Catholic, I had no thought of remaining an Anglican myself. For a moment I inclined to go with her, but I felt that the time was not yet come, and that there was no reason why I should not take my time, as she had taken hers. A few more days after her, Mrs. Foljambe had been received, and Case; and as I was with them, they made incessant efforts to determine me at once. I came up and down from Launton during three weeks; but though I saw plainly that the real choice only lay between a temporal sovereign for head and

governor, and St. Peter's Chair, and though I was equally resolved to reject the former at any cost, yet I wished for a little time to see my way through my old difficulties about the Primacy. I was engaged then in reading Bolgeni '*Sull' Episcopato*,' and thought it would give me the solution I wanted. So on June 8 we both returned to Launton, my wife a Catholic, and I yet undetermined.

At this moment I wrote as follows to Archdeacon Manning:—

'LAUNTON, BICESTER : June 9, 1850.

'MY DEAR ARCHDEACON MANNING,—I want to ask you a question which I think you may answer without in the least departing from any reserve which at present you may have imposed on yourself, and without assuming one atom of responsibility as to anything which I may do.

'I find at least five different points, more or less involving each other, and widely branching, but each *capital*, on which *each* and all, after long and carefully using the best means in my power, I am unable to acquit the Church of England. These are the questions :

- I. of Unity, and involved in it
- II. of Infallibility,
- III. of Heresy,
- IV. of Schism,
- V. of Jurisdiction (*i.e.* the substitution of Royal for Papal Supremacy ; the case of Parker, &c.)

I consider that to be wrong on *any one* of these points cuts off a province of the Church from all the privileges of the one mystical Body. What then, and how great, is the cumulative force of all five ?

‘ No doubt, your observation that our moral state warps us in the selection of those premisses from which we may draw, *if true*, correct conclusions, and so affects what might seem, at first sight, to be the work of the pure intellect, is true in itself, and to be borne in mind ; nevertheless it must be limited by this fact, that, according to it, no man, unless he were sinless, could be sure of the correctness of an intellectual conclusion upon moral premisses, and no man, accordingly, who really was in schism or heresy, could ever get out of them. And secondly, on all the points above mentioned, there are certain premisses admitted by us all to be true, and which therefore seem released from the caprice of the individual mind.

‘ Premising this, then, my question is, do you know any considerations on any or all of the above five points, which you think might alter the conclusion to which I have come ?

‘ I am most anxious not to take a final step without giving myself every chance, and to set you quite free ; as a doctor called in on a desperate case, I must repeat that at present on *all* of these points, as well as on each of them, I see no justification for our communion.

‘As to the case of schism, I would just observe that my own book rather suggested what *ought* to have been the position of the Church of England than proved such in fact to have been her position, and that subsequent events have taken away even this poor defence; whereas, on the other hand, I seem to see facts proving the whole Ultramontane claim.

‘Whatever may be the force of the “Credo in Lydiam Sellon” argument, in its proper place, I am sure you will not urge it as affording any solution respecting either of the above points.

‘Ever affectionately yours,

‘T. W. ALLIES.’

No one who knew him will be surprised to learn that the parentage of ‘Credo in Lydiam Sellon’ belongs to the late Mr. H. W. Wilberforce. He was said at this time to walk about, repeating to himself ‘He believes in twelve women, he believes in twelve women.’ In fact, the grace imparted to these twelve women was supposed to be the ground on which a particular mind rested for the assurance that the community which produced them formed part of the *Ecclesia Docens*. An elementary knowledge of the doctrine of grace, with a resolution to apply it even in the case of the Church of England, would have dissipated this imagination.

To this letter of mine Archdeacon Mannin replied:—

‘LAVINGTON: June 19, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Your letter came at a time when I was obliged to delay writing, and since then until to-day I have been absent, travelling, and so overdone with writing that I could not answer it before.

‘The question you put appears to be whether on the points you mention I know any considerations which might alter your conclusion.

‘This would require, as we said in London, a verifying of the matter of your premisses, and a further statement of them than I have. But certainly your book upon the question of Schism is, to my mind, ample ground for doubting any contrary conclusion without more evidence than I have yet seen.

‘But I feel myself so much to need the same re-examination myself, that I hope to enter upon it with a single intention to obey the truth and will of God with all my heart. If I could offer to you anything you have not weighed, I would, gladly; but you have, I know, far outgone me in real study. My life, as you know, has been active to excess, and you would hardly believe how little has been my time for reading. This makes me thoroughly mistrust myself; and the heavier the crisis and its consequences the more I turn to others to review and test my conclusions or opinions. All that I can say is that my time has been given to “serving my neighbour”—how poorly I well know.

‘This is a worthless letter to send you. But I

have no better. I trust to be led to the truth in these points, on which I feel to need rather than to be able to give such help as you require.

‘May God be with you, my dear Allies, that all you do may be according to His will, and bring you to peace at the last!

‘Give me your prayer always, as I am sure you will, for old and kind memory’s sake.

‘Believe me ever yours, affectionately,

‘H. E. MANNING.’

On June 24, I received the following from the Bishop of Brechin:—

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Instead of calling you a black sheep, I have the deepest sympathy for your present anxieties; I know so well the misery of doubt, and the fear of taking a false step, that I quite feel with you in your present state. I think you ought to take great care of tampering with your convictions. You should fix a time for the solution of your doubts and then act at once consistently.

‘I doubt the morality of writing a pamphlet such as I hear you are about at present, while rector of Launton. Indeed, I think you should abstain from writing anything at present, till you are settled, as the “transition” style is less satisfactory in literary fame than in the orders of architecture.

‘I quite agree with you about “Lydiam Sellon,” which, by the way, smacks of Henry Wilberforce;

but do you think Barrow, and Bramhall, and Laud's line utterly untenable? I confess that even if these are weak in first principles, they are strong in uncomfortable facts, which would be sure to haunt one when over.

'The nearer I approach Rome the less I feel drawn to it. I cannot understand Newman's line, it must be a cardinal defect to seek to impose the devotions fitted for an Italian mind on our Saxon real selves—and may not our insularity, after all, be more of a subjective argument than we admit of? I feel quite the grand intellectual position of the Roman Church, and yet how far is intellect to be the measure of faith?

'Believe me, most truly yours,

'ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF BRECHIN.'

Just before this we heard of Wynne and Patterson being received at Jerusalem. Pollen came over to Launton on the 15th, and finding what my mind was, suggested that it was a duty in me to state my reasons for so great a change of opinion on the subject of the Primacy. I felt this, and I felt also that the moment I gave up my living I should be tossed about for some time from place to place, without books, and unable to collect my thoughts. If anything was to be written, it must be done at once. This was on June 16. My wife was waiting anxiously for me to take the decisive step, for no

situation could be more embarrassing than that of the Catholic wife of an Anglican parson at his living. I now look back on this act as the most energetic of my life. I was about utterly to ruin myself and my family by becoming a Catholic; the future hung upon me with a tremendous weight: so soon as I resigned my living, I knew not what to do, or where to turn, or where even to deposit my furniture and books. In the meantime I gave up my mind entirely to the question of the Primacy; from June 16 to July 30, I devoted every moment of time I could spare to form my view, collect and classify my documents, and draw out the programme of my treatise. This done on July 30, I began to write, and in three weeks completed the seven sections of the work, then sent it to press, and as soon as it was promised me from the printer, preached my last sermon, on the afternoon of September 8, and announced to my people that I was going to leave them. The anxiety of this time had been increased by typhus fever having appeared in my parish in great force; for some weeks before I left I was attending death-beds. No epidemic had happened in my parish during my residence there, nor had so many people ever died, and I could not help feeling that if I was taken ill myself and had to be received on a death-bed, the force of my witness would be diminished, and I should be accused of having delayed through love of my worldly position. I had, indeed, some time before

written to Dr. Wiseman to tell him how I was engaged, and received from him an approval of the course I was taking. Happily, however, I was preserved from the sickness. My wife went to Birmingham to pass the Assumption there; on her return my work was just completed. In the course of these three months, June to September, all hesitation left me; all doubt was cleared up; my convictions became quite fixed; and I moved forward, holding the retraction which I considered due to the truth in my hand, with unfaltering step to the Catholic Church, the end of so many sorrows and heartaches—the ocean in which the small river of my thoughts was to be absorbed.

Just at this time M. Labbé was in England, and came to visit us a few days before September 8, the term of my Anglican ministry. On that day I preached as usual twice without book, having begun this practice December 9, 1849, and continued it ever since. I had attained fearlessness and complete fluency in the course of about eighty sermons so preached. In the midst of all the anxieties of this year, I had kept this up, partly because I could get no assistance. Having determined that Sunday, September 8, should be the last, as my work would be ready for delivery in the ensuing week, I preached as usual in the morning; but in the afternoon, to the great astonishment of every one, I told them that I was on the point of resigning

my living the next day, my faith in the Anglican establishment having been utterly destroyed by the contrarieties of opinion maintained in it, and by the Gorham judgment. I said little of the Catholic Church, knowing how unable my congregation were to follow me on that ground. After service an infant was brought up to be baptised—I could not refuse; and this was my last ministerial act in the Anglican Church, as a funeral was the first, in December 1837, done much against my will, at Malvern. This beginning and end, I suppose, were typical. That evening I went and said farewell to a few people, and sick persons.

On Monday, September 9, my wife, myself, and two children, accompanied by M. Labbé, left Launton. We drove across country to Buckingham, sent the children to N——, and went ourselves to Birmingham, not finding Father Newman at the Oratory. The next day, Tuesday, leaving my wife with Mrs. Wootton, I proceeded on to St. Wilfrid's, Labbé choosing to accompany me. No doubt his presence was a great comfort to me, and sustained my spirits; nevertheless, in all this time I never felt the least drawing back; now that my thoughts were cleared up, my only desire was to show in the most decisive way the utter scorn which I felt for a communion which had received the Gorham judgment, as the Establishment had received it, that is, heresy the most outrageous, and submission in *spiritualibus*, the

most absolute, to the civil power, in one and the same act. In proportion as my first love had been thrown away on this most vile system, the betrayal of all that is noble, superhuman, self-denying and divine in Christianity, and as I had, moreover, when blinded with heresy which discerns not principles, nor the mutual relations of doctrines, set myself, though in good faith, to defend this system, was I anxious now to trample it under my feet. The consequences to myself, and all that I had most dear, hung like a black thundercloud around, and darkened the whole heaven; all joy was taken away from me; but there remained the strongest sense of duty, the most steadfast resolution. I felt that I was called to sacrifice my first-born, but there was no doubt that it was the voice of God which I heard; and so, what I had a presentiment of five years before was accomplished, and conviction was given intense in proportion to the act required. Perhaps I might myself have moved quicker if less had been depending to me on the movement; but never for one single instant was I conscious of a dishonest purpose; never for an instant in the past five years would I not have listened thankfully to any infallible authority prescribing to me that the course which thus I chose at length was right. God chose the time, not I. He would not be hurried, lest the conclusion should seem to come from reason rather than from grace. Certain it is that the point at last determining me,

and discovered, like a sudden revelation, on February 27, 1850, was equally obvious five years before, and I believe would have been equally decisive to my mind then, or even five years earlier. It was no abstruse recondite point, but one set at the very threshold of the inquiry, plain on first reading of the Reformation, thrown in the teeth of the Establishment both by Catholic, Puritan, and Latitudinarian foes. Yet I saw it not; I passed it over. I never fell in with Lewis's pamphlet, which dwelt upon it, and the nearest approach which I ever made to it was in a conversation with Lewis, to whose rooms Dean once took me. So it was, and that because 'it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.' Entrance into the Church of God to any living creature is a mere act of sovereign grace. It is in the power of our wills to put an *obex* to this grace; it is in the power of our wills to decline at any moment the gentle, delicate, but still unfailing guidance of this grace; not to follow our partner in the dance; but it is not in the power of the most steadfast will, or of the clearest intellect, or of the most honest purpose all united, to make its own way into the Church of God like a conqueror, by the triumphant conclusions of the reason. God keeps the thread which guides through that labyrinth in His own hands; we may break it or cast it aside, but we cannot do without it. And as He opens the door at last, so He keeps the time

when He will open the door at His own disposal. This is the grand lesson which I gather from the review of the thirteen years here sketched. Free co-operation of the human will with His motions I see in it all along; so free, that the will is unconscious, at the moment of acting, of any motion at all on the part of another. Yet times and circumstances of all kinds, intercourse with men, with books, trials of the feelings and affections, the whole woof of the web of life, are chosen by that Other for the warp to pass through and weave the ultimate web. And so the complete work, as it is of grace, so it is of merit, and ends in the Sovereign Ruler and Judge *giving* the place which His creature has *deserved*. And so into the hands of His infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, who chooses His elect, I commend myself, adoring Him for the greatest of His gifts, entrance into the Church of God.

But before I quit this short review I would notice wherein that *obex* consisted, which so long held me back from the truth. Its substratum was that prodigious mass of *calumny* wherein Protestantism has involved the Catholic Church. This is the special armour which the spirit of heresy has forged for itself, nor in anything are the power and malice of the devil more apparent than in the defence which he has provided for his offspring. Thus the minds of the victims of an established heresy are perverted from the beginning, lest the beauty of

the truth should reach and convert them. On this basis of calumny is built the whole gigantic framework of *prejudice*, which rises up and permeates the mind and heart of Protestants, so that what is begun in simple misapprehension is completed in the affections of the will. And the whole develops into that mightiest of powers over fallen man, the power of *habit*. All that grows up and intertwines itself with the mind, fusing, moulding, colouring, and impregnating it, mixing with the earliest and the dearest associations, thus becomes intensely hostile to the Catholic faith and Church. This is why people can mix with them outwardly, observe their ceremonies, contemplate their doctrines, and feel not merely unattracted but repelled; this is why the very truth which is most dear to them in the shape in which they have received it, ceases to be amiable in the Catholic Church, where it is most pure and perfect, so that the devotion of saints to the passion of Jesus does not touch those who profess to adore that passion above everything, and reverence itself for the written Word of God, which is so deep in Catholicism, is charged in the Protestant mind with disregard and neglect of it. Such was the triple cord, woven from my infancy, and strengthened with my growth, which held me a fast prisoner down to the time that I received the charge of an Anglican parish. And to this, which is the common bond of Protestantism, must be added in my case a great

respect for certain self-chosen elders and superiors, exalted in one's mind almost to the position of saints, from whose writings I was conscious of having received much help. Such were, first, and above all, Newman; then Keble, Pusey, and perhaps Isaac Williams. The mind, feeling no support in ordinary Anglicanism, transferred its trust to such as these, and seemed to feel that where they were, safety must be. I do not add to these that the motives of temporal interest were all on one side, because I think that I was keenly on my guard against the force of such motives from the first, and it was even necessary to be on the watch against precipitate action through dread of being led by them.

He alone who has gone through the conflict knows what this strife is—enough to sever the soul from the body, to darken the sun's light, and to banish joy from the world. And one who has snapped that triple cord, and can look back on those deceptions as passed away, on all that mighty framework of error dissolved as a morning mist, and who can see the air at length serene and bright, and full of angelic ministrations, may safely feel that there is no trial on this side the grave through which the grace of God may not conduct him in triumph to victory. So be it.

1. 'To him that *overcometh* I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the paradise of my God.'

2. 'He that shall *overcome* shall not be hurt by

the second death, and I will give him the crown of life.'

3. 'To him that *overcometh* I will give the hidden manna, and will give him a white counter, and in the counter a new name written, which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it.'

4. 'And he that shall *overcome*, and keep my works unto the end, I will give him power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, and as the vessel of a potter they shall be broken, as I also have received of my Father; and I will give him the morning star.'

5. 'He that shall *overcome* shall thus be clothed in white garments, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, and I will confess his name before my Father and before His angels.'

6. 'He that shall *overcome*, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; and he shall go out no more; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God, and my new name.'

7. 'To him that shall *overcome*, I will give to sit with me on my throne, as I also have overcome, and am set down with my Father on His throne.'

And so I have accomplished the task, so long intended and so long delayed, begun September 22, finished November 13, 1853.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HOUSE BUILT UPON THE ROCK.

ON September 8, Feast of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady, I announced publicly from the pulpit of my church that I was about to resign my living, and cease to belong to the Anglican communion. On the following Wednesday, September 11, after general confession and absolution, I was received by conditional baptism into the Catholic Church, by Father Newman, at St. Wilfrid's, and the same morning made my public profession, in the church adjoining, of the Creed of Pope Pius, when a *Te Deum* was sung. On Friday, September 13, I received my first communion from the hands of P. L. Labbé, who had so kindly accompanied me from Launton, and watched over me as a parent over a child. All this was within the octave of our Blessed Lady's Feast; and truly can I say that She has been to me, since my visit to France in 1843, the *Stella Matutina*, the dawning beam of truth, leading me onwards to the perfect day. To other Protestants the worship which the Catholic Church offers to the Mother of the Creator and Redeemer may have been

a stumbling-block ; to me it was an attraction, a delight to contemplate, a token that she was indeed the Church of Christ who so acted.

For oh, how could I love thy Son,
Sweet Mother, if I love not thee ?

In the course of seven years, I had fully reached the position which, in 1843, I gave to the 'Romanist.' 'I do not think he is in danger of confounding the reverence due to the Mother of God with the worship due to her Son. It rather seems as if in his mind *She* were the connecting link between us and Him ; so that the Virgin is inextricably mixed up in his feelings with the Incarnation ; whereas, if I mistake not, the Protestant tone of thought seldom rests upon the Virgin at all, or considers the part she had in the mystery of the Incarnation.' Yes, that most loving, most awful, most wonderful, most entrancing mystery of the Incarnation, the key to all mysteries in heaven and earth, had been in those seven years the main subject of my thoughts, and I had come most entirely to feel that it was impossible to realise it at all, without realising by the same process the part which our Blessed Lady had in it ; and hence the transcendent and perfectly unique dignity to which she was exalted by it. What more radical condemnation of Protestantism can be uttered than that its 'tone of thought seldom rests upon the Virgin at all, or considers the part she had in the mystery of the Incarnation' ? That is, not to think of Christ at the Annunciation, when that mightiest

of mysteries was accomplished, nor whilst for nine months He endured to be imprisoned in her womb, nor at His nativity, nor at His presentation, nor at the adoring of the Wise Men, nor at the flight into Egypt, nor in the thirty years' secret life in Egypt and at Nazareth, nor at Cana of Galilee, nor on the Cross; it is, in short, not to *meditate* on Christ at all, and it is only by banishing all love and tenderness that the Protestant keeps our Blessed Lady out of his thoughts. So, in the course of years, I had come to feel. It is, then, a pleasure to me to reflect that this greatest and most important act of my life was accomplished under her special protection, within the octave of her Feast. But further, a short time before, in the last days of my waiting at Launton, while the typhus fever was raging in my parish, the first signs of it appeared in my wife one Sunday morning. We besought her intercession, and I used the *Memorare* prayer to her a hundred times that day, and the symptoms disappeared. Both my wife, and the children, and myself were preserved from that fatal scourge.

I stayed with Father Newman, at St. Wilfrid's, till Saturday of that week, September 14, when Labbé and myself returned together to Birmingham. He left for France, and I continued at the Oratory till Thursday, communicating daily. My wife was still with Mrs. Wootton. I sought strength from that 'bread of the strong,' for the period of bitter trial that was

coming. We had to go back to Launton, pack up, and remove our things, and we knew not even where to go. In vain we asked advice from Father Newman, and turned our minds in every direction. No occupation or maintenance for the future presented itself; as to temporal matters, a more arid waste of years could not stretch itself before the fainting traveller than then encompassed us. The convert in the first three centuries often met at once the Roman axe, or the torturing hook or scourge, and was released after a glorious conflict; but here the trial, if not so sharp, was far more prolonged. An indeterminate space of time, dark and unredeemed by hope, opened its illimitable lowering desert before us. The first taste of it was utter uncertainty *what* to do, with the necessity of *doing* at once. It was certain that my successor at Launton would only be too anxious to get rid of such an ill-omened guest as soon as possible, and the moment my rights as landlord terminated, no quarter was to be expected. Furniture and books must be put *somewhere*, yet it was impossible to fix *where* we could best go. The harassing perplexity of this situation, the sense of being ruined, of having no field for future exertion, cannot be expressed in words. It lay all about us, under and above us, by day and night. So we left Birmingham, Thursday, September 19. That worst of all times lasted to me a month, terminating, so far as Launton and the packing up was concerned, but not as to the remain-

ing causes of distress, on Saturday, October 19, and to my wife one week less, as she left on Saturday, October 12.

In those days of my stay at Launton I was supported continually by Father Newman's advice. He was my polar star, which never set. The following letters are in answer to a question I had raised about studies and authors.

‘ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM: October 8, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—I don't know how to answer your question. I was thinking of the effect on my own mind of reading various Catholic divines—*e.g.* falling back upon Billuart after reading Suarez and Vasquez—or upon Tournely. You yourself give an instance of it in your quotation from Bossuet, in the early part of your work just published.

‘Nothing can be better than the Treatise on Grace, if you wish a subject. Tournely is reckoned best.¹ It is certainly exceedingly good, and to me more interesting than Suarez, but Suarez of course is the greater writer. Viva, though short, is a writer I like, particularly when taken in connexion with his *Damnatae Theses*. St. Thomas himself would be most instructive. But anyhow, go to a real thorough thinker, though a partisan—not to a mere expounder of results, or an eschewer of scholastic quarrels, as Perrone, useful and accurate as he is. The fault of Suarez is his great length. I speak

¹ The writer of this letter is speaking distinctly and only of Tournely *de Gratia*.

diffidently, for tastes differ so, but I should prefer to recommend to you Tournely.

‘I am exceedingly pleased with what I have read of your new work [“The See of St. Peter,” &c.], but have not yet finished it. The argument is very well and powerfully put.

‘So, you are going to Paris; I don’t think you can be sorry hereafter for having done so. I heard from Wilberforce yesterday, and was surprised to find he was looking out for employment. I should not wonder if he found he had a turn for small boys. He now is afraid of Rome from the expense.

‘I want to say three Masses for you—are there any days you would prefer? I am not engaged on many.

‘Ever yours affectionately in Christ,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN,

‘Congr. Orat.

‘P.S. On looking at your wording again, I find you speak of development—I spoke of quarrel—but it is true of development. Here I should take the great doctrine of the Incarnation.’

‘ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM: October 11, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—We shall be glad to see you at any time—but I am sorry to say that I cannot be *sure* whether we shall have room inside the house. At present three of our party are away, or rather a fourth whose room B. occupies, but I don’t know quite when they return. Even if, however, by

bad luck, we were full, we would manage for you in some way.

‘We set up formally the London House on the anniversary of my reception—(thank you for remembering it). They are now quite separate from us and me. It is a sorrowful thing and anxious, yet hopeful.

‘I have just received Maskell’s able and settling pamphlet, but I am very sorry the three letters did not appear, as you intended, immediately on their being written. Then they would have produced an effect—the *question* would have been before the world, and the *doubt* would have thrown the *onus probandi* on Pusey. Now, it is to be feared, the *onus probandi* will be upon the “Why should I read Maskell?” The more I think of it, the more I regret it.

‘Dear C. Marriott could make up his mind to-morrow to be a Catholic, if he would; at least this is my feeling, though you have seen him so much lately, and I not. I don’t think he has any argument, unless arguments have grown on him, except Pusey and sanguineness.

‘All kind thoughts of Mrs. Allies.

‘Believe me, ever yours affectionately,

‘JOHN H. NEWMAN,

‘Congr. Orat.

I also received at this moment a letter from a

friend always among the highest in my estimation, upon whose memory I now look back with veneration.

‘MIXBURY: October 7, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—So kind and earnest a letter as yours of the 2nd must not pass unanswered. I am very far from taking “offence” at such an expression of your feelings—on the contrary, nothing is more attractive to my heart than such signs of charity.

‘As for private judgment, we both know that it cannot be got rid of. The Pope himself, just like me or yourself, is what he is on private judgment. The only question is as to the healthy nature and correct use of our judgment. You do not yourself, I suppose, wish me to act upon a conviction which I do not at present possess all; you can desire of me is to take such steps as may be likely to correct my error if I am wrong, *e.g.* seek, or not reject, information on points on which I may be ignorant, attend continuously to such points as may be of importance in the controversy, &c., &c., &c. In my present state if I were to submit myself to the Pope, I should be acting contrary to my convictions, and so far immorally, and I should have no security that those convictions which I stifled or set aside by mere feeling would not return upon me afterwards in my new and self-chosen position. In order to submit myself to the Pope rightly I must obtain that conviction which you have; and if you or any other friend, being

convinced that this is good for me, have charity and zeal enough to attempt to help me towards their conclusions, I will not only thank them for it, but I will myself assist them so far as I can, by dealing openly with them as to the present state of my own mind, and by telling them what sort of argument is likely to be thrown away upon me, and what sort of information or evidence, on the other hand, may possibly affect my present opinions.

‘At present, whatever you may think of it, I am very much nearer to joining the Eastern than the Latin Church, though there are for the moment obstacles in the way of my doing so. If I am wrong, as you must think me to be very wrong, in having such dispositions, the only two points on which it is worth while intellectually to seek to change my opinions are those of the Procession and the Papal Supremacy. On the Papal Supremacy I do not think myself accessible to any immediate or direct influence either from arguments or citation of passages ; but I hope, if I live, to pay constant attention to the subject. On the Procession, on the other hand, I have already a very strong and definite conviction ; and anything tending to change that conviction would, I think, sweep away at once from my mind all ideas of the Eastern Church, and all doubts about the divine character of the Papal Supremacy. If, therefore, you should ever hereafter chance to fall upon any passages of early Latin Fathers which seem to

you to be strong for the Procession from the Son, I shall take it as a kindness if you will mark the references to them and communicate them to me when you have opportunity. If I can succeed in convincing myself of the Latin doctrine on this point, it would, I think, carry with it all others.

‘Again, if after waiting a reasonable time it should seem clear that the recent judgment of the Privy Council is submitted to by the Anglican Church (as I apprehend will be the case), and if then I should find the same obstacles as exist at present to my joining the Eastern Church, I should, I think, consider it to be a duty to stifle all adverse particular convictions, and submit myself to the Roman Church. But this is perhaps premature anticipation.

‘With best regards to Mrs. Allies,

‘Believe me to be always, my dear Allies,

‘Yours very sincerely and affectionately,

‘W. PALMER.’

It was yet some years before he who thus wrote terminated that long search after truth, which began as soon as he had taken his class at Oxford, which led him to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Constantinople and Jerusalem, and was crowned at last by his reception at the central shrine of the Catholic Church in Rome. Be it allowed to an eye-witness to record that he who entered the Church with the faith of a little child in the mature judgment of middle age, after

twenty years of anxious thought and discussion, found for a quarter of a century peace and happiness under the rule of his long-sought Mother, and after devoting every thought and every power of a most active intellect to the glory of God, died a saintly death.

Friday, September 20, I determined to go to Ventnor, and visit my mother and sisters, to see if any light would spring up there. I returned on the Thursday following, September 26, was on the very point of taking a house at Clifton, with the intention of trying for pupils, but Father Newman stopped me. We thought again and again of putting our things in my house at Cheltenham, but never could resolve on it. At last it was determined to take the large room at Hawkins's, and deposit the furniture and books there till some prospect opened. We were a fortnight preparing for this, and then I took my wife to Oxford, quite exhausted, though she had borne up wonderfully all through this time, and lightened half my burden, on Saturday afternoon, October 12. Here, a singular incident awaited us. We walked down to Bicester Station, and had to wait some time for the train. Who should be there but my old antagonist, Mr. Watts, with his wife, spectators of our departure. Such was the issue of the contest for orthodoxy which I had fought, and in which he had been involved. He was there, undesignedly, to witness his triumph. We thought the train never would come. It came, however, at last; we reached Oxford,

and there Deane's and Pollen's society was some alleviation. The following Monday morning, October 14, my wife went up to London, to go on to N——, and I returned in the evening, having missed the morning train, to Launton, to finish the packing. I had estimated that this would take a day or two. It took the whole week of unremitted toil, and I could only just get away on Saturday evening by the last train. I felt in that week pushed to the utmost. My wife's presence hitherto had wonderfully cheered me. We worked till all was removed, and I sat on a basket in the kitchen to get a bit of food. At last it was done. Everything was stowed at Hawkins's, or in one room, the haunted room, at the Rectory. Emma, the maid, had continued with me to the last; and now, all being concluded, I looked once more into our bedroom, and, thought how often little Basil had slept beside us there, and then hurried down to Bicester, caught the train, and arrived for supper at Pollen's room, Oxford; like a bird escaped out of prison, casting aside, at least for the time, the heavy burden of care which had lain upon me.

Such was my first month as a Catholic, a month for ever to be remembered by my wife and me. If what the poet says be true, as I believe,

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria,

so the converse is equally true, and how much

more comforting than that is saddening! The grief passes, the joy remains; many a time yet to come we shall think, doubtless, of that month; and perhaps in the glory of the beatific vision the remembrance of those harassing anxieties, of the world closed and frowning, of friends far off, and of home taken away, will recur again and again, to increase our delight, when ‘*qui replet in bonis desiderium animæ, ipse rationi futurus est plenitudo lucis, ipse voluntati multitudo pacis, ipse memoriæ continuatio æternitatis.*’ Things were not much improved when we left Launton.

October 21, I reached N——, having posted in London the formal and legal resignation of my living—too soon, as it turned out, for I ought first to have recovered the rents due, of which one half-year on one farm, 162*l.* 10*s.*, have been lost by my relinquishing the powers of a landlord. My old antagonist, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, showed the most indecent haste to get rid of me, in spite of his own brother Henry being in precisely similar circumstances in the diocese of Canterbury. He wrote to me sharply, while still at Launton, asking why I had not executed the formal resignation of my living; and I answered as sharply that I was as anxious to leave Launton as he could be to get rid of me, but that I must and would first put my goods in security before I surrendered my legal right to the house. He wanted to quarter a Mr. Levi upon me there,

while in the act of packing up, which he would have done had I not still been *de facto* Rector.

At N——, after waiting a day or two, I determined to take my eldest son to Oscott, and to rest a week at the Oratory under Father Newman's wing. My first intention was a *retreat*; that, however, he did not propose; and having deposited E. at college, I spent a week at the Oratory, which seemed like rest in a beautiful land-locked harbour, with mountains around and forests on their sides, after being tossed by a tempest. That, however, soon came to an end. I could get no view for the future, and as to this left as uncertain as I came. I went back through Clifton, spending All Saints' Day there in Maskell's house, though he was away. Tuesday, November 5, I was in London, curious to witness whether there would be any great manifestation of hatred to Catholics, as the aggression row was at its height. Wednesday, the 6th, returned to N——. Then anxious thoughts afresh where we should go; longing to get to Rome, but troubles about dilapidations stopped that. Macmullen, who most kindly took me in at London, recommended Clapham. I went over and thought a good deal about it. We were then invited to D——, where we met Cardinal Wiseman and a goodly party, November 18–28. Being returned to N—— at the end of November, I resolved to take lodgings in Golden Square, two doors from the Cardinal, until some view should open to us. So we came to Golden

Square, December 3, 1850, and from this time forth, being close to a Catholic church, had daily opportunities of hearing mass, &c., from which my wife had entirely, and I partially, been until then debarred.

This was our initiation into the Catholic Church : ‘As many as I love, I try and chasten.’ Even so, Lord, only ‘give what Thou commandest, and command what thou pleasest.’

While I was staying at the Oratory, the following letter was addressed to me by one who had shown me great kindness during my visits to France, and whose memory, I think, is dear to every one who ever came in contact with him, the Père de Ravignan.

‘PARIS: 35 Rue de Sèvres,

21 Septembre 1850, S. Matthieu.

‘MON bien cher et digne Docteur, et vous me permettez de le dire, mon bien tendre ami,— J’apprends avec bonheur votre entrée courageuse dans le sein de l’Eglise notre mère commune. Soyez béni au nom du Dieu trois fois saint. Ses anges célèbrent votre triomphe, tandis que l’enfer eu frémit, et la Vierge immaculée, qui vous couvrit de son ombre maternelle, vous adopte à jamais pour son enfant privilégié. Votre foi, votre piété, votre loyale et généreuse franchise, appeloient la grâce la plus entière : vous l’avez reçue avec les dons abondants de l’Esprit Saint. O mon bien-aimé Docteur, quelle joie pour mon âme ! et que mon cœur est consolé de ce bienheureux résultat. J’attends avec impatience votre dernier

ouvrage; on me dit que c'est un chef-d'œuvre. Vraiment le Seigneur a de grands desseins sur l'Angleterre: ce profond et admirable travail la pénètre et la transforme. Il semble impossible que le bras divin s'arrête avant d'avoir accompli son œuvre. Prions et espérons.

'Maintenant que devenez-vous? on me dit que vous allez à Rome. Monseigneur Wiseman et Monseigneur Talbot vous y désireront sans doute. Au moins au passage, vous me donnerez beaucoup de temps. Mon âme est intimement unie à la vôtre; mon cœur a besoin de vous le dire et de vous offrir la tendre expression de l'amitié, du dévouement les plus sentis et les plus profonds.

'XAVIER DE RAVIGNAN, S.J.'

The little work to which this letter refers had been published at the same time as my reception into the Catholic Church took place, in order that it might give to all who cared to inquire my reasons for taking the step. Like the previous work on the 'Royal Supremacy,' it was sent to a great number of friends, and I had dedicated it to Mr. Gladstone, who had himself written a pamphlet on the Royal Supremacy that year. He acknowledged it in the following terms:—

'6 CARLTON GARDENS: October 8, 1850.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I have a painful duty to perform in acknowledging the receipt of your recent work,

which you have been so good as to send to me, and its dedication. The kind words which you have applied to me I accept as written in entire sincerity, however little I can lay claim to them.

‘Upon the subject of the work itself, and of its relation to your former one, it is perhaps better that I should not speak at large; but you will permit me, I hope, frankly to say, I had expected it would have been in the nature of a reply to the former book, which, instead of answering, it appears to me wholly to pass by.

‘I know that in the numerous references to fact and testimony, in which I am quite unable to put you to the test, you may not be open to the remarks I should certainly feel bound to apply to those of your statements in which I have cognisance of the subject-matter; such as those in pages 147 and 148. There is one of them, indeed, upon which I think it my duty to assure you, on my own authority, that you are in entire error. It is in page 148, respecting an “intermediate metropolitan.” It was my duty as a Minister, in 1846, to assent on the part of the Crown to that measure *at the instance* of the late Archbishop of Canterbury. I am sure that if you have the opportunity, it will give you pleasure to rectify the mistake. Had the matter been one entrusted to any record generally accessible, I should not have thought it my duty to trouble you upon it.

‘You will, I am sure, sometimes think kindly even

of the "Anglo-German" religionists whom you have left; and I assure you I earnestly desire to reciprocate such feelings, and I remain always,

‘My dear Sir,

‘Very truly yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘Rev. T. W. ALLIES.’

Few of my Anglican friends noticed this work; none attempted to answer it: but after the lapse of a generation it is a pleasure to recall the words addressed to me at such a moment, by the then Archdeacon Manning:—

‘KIPPINGTON, SEVENOAKS: September 20, 1850.

‘MY DEAR ALLIES,—Though I have not written I have not forgotten you day by day. We have been too closely united, and I have known too much of your past trials for me to be unmoved by anything so deeply affecting you. May God bless and keep you to the end!

‘Many thanks for the inclosed letters, which are very thoughtful and interesting, and also for your book ("The See of St. Peter," &c). I have read it once, and shall read it again closely, and with the examination you would desire. It is very able and demands a full treatment by any one who will answer it. Let me have your prayers that I may know and do the will of God in all things. Believe me,

‘Always affectionately yours,

‘H. E. MANNING.’

A few months later, in April 1851, I had the delight of receiving the following note from Archdeacon Manning.

‘ 14 QUEEN STREET, MAYFAIR: Passion Sunday, 1851.

‘ MY DEAR ALLIES,—Others, I fear, will have been before me in telling you of my intention, but I may be the first to tell you that this morning, by God’s mercy, I entered the One True Fold.

‘ I have felt your consideration towards my sister in not coming to see me ; but now and here I shall be delighted to see you again.

‘ Pray for me that I may be kept in the grace of God.

‘ Ever yours affectionately,

‘ H. E. MANNING.’

A little later I received a letter from the Comte de Montalembert, and a second from the Père de Ravignan, which I subjoin:—

‘ PARIS: February 2, 1851.

‘ DEAR SIR,—I feel very grateful for your kind and indulgent remembrance of me. I had read with much interest your “Journal in France,” and had derived great hopes of your ultimate return to the *whole* truth, from your noble picture of the Church in France. I have now to congratulate you on the generous sacrifices which have accompanied your admission into the *one* fold, and also on the excellent tract on the Papal authority by which you have

signalised your entry, in the new and glorious career where your science and your fervent devotion to the Church will find such active employment.

‘ I remain, dear Sir, with respect and gratitude,

‘ Your obedient humble servant,

‘ C. COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT.’

‘ PARIS : 23 Janvier, 1851.

‘ MONSIEUR ET BIEN DIGNE AMI,—J’ai reçu votre précieux envoi avec votre bonne lettre ; j’ai envoyé le second exemplaire à son adresse, rue de Monsieur.

‘ Il m’est triste de renoncer au bonheur de vous voir à Paris ; mais que la volonté de Dieu soit faite, et puissent toutes les bénédictions de sa douceur vous être données par surcroît. Nos vœux et notre plus tendre intérêt vous suivent au milieu de la lutte et dans la carrière où vous êtes engagé. La Providence a ses desseins sur votre grande et puissante patrie ; et ce mouvement religieux en sens si opposés n’est il pas l’annonce d’un grave mais consolant avenir ? Il me sera bien doux, je vous assure, en toute circonstance de, m’unir à vous devant Dieu, de partager, comme un frère tendrement dévoué, vos peines et vos espérances.

‘ Quel temps que le nôtre, et quelle situation que celle des divers états de l’Europe ! Notre pauvre France fait pitié. Il n’y a que des embarras sans solution et sans issue. La Providence nous tient suspendus et nous mène à l’inconnu qu’elle a déter-

miné à l'avance : cela doit nous suffire. Du reste, chez nous la Religion ne perd pas de son influence ; peut-être même se fortifie-t-elle au milieu des oscillations de la politique. On a tant de besoin de recourir à Dieu.

‘ Mais je voulois avant tout vous féliciter de votre savant et courageux ouvrage. On avoit eu la bonté de me l'envoyer et j'en avois pris connoissance avec bonheur. C'est bien là la vérité, le roc inébranlable, et notre espoir invincible. Je vous en remercie avec toute l'effusion d'un cœur reconnoissant et dévoué.

‘ Dès les premiers instants où j'ai eu l'honneur de vous connoître, je me suis senti pénétré d'une profonde et respectueuse affection ; elle ne peut que s'accroître et se confirmer de plus en plus. Veuillez en agréer la vive et sincère expression.

‘ X. DE RAVIGNAN, S.J. ’

Three years have now passed since the time last mentioned. I felt myself, in the last days at Launton, when I walked backwards and forwards through the orchard, thinking over the work I was writing, that I was just on the threshold of a new life ; so indeed it was, but in a far higher degree than I then imagined. These anxious thirteen years, sketched above, seem a state of childhood now, in spiritual things, as I look back on them. For surely that must be called a state of childhood in which one was in a constant flux, as to

the most important affair of human life ; in which, instead of receiving the truth whole and entire, with its due proportion of parts and relative bearings, from a competent authority, one was reduced to search this out by oneself, in bits and fragments, in utter uncertainty as to what this haphazard accretion of doctrines might end in. It was plain that to each individual mind it would end in something different, and that as the whole sum of doctrines so held would be different according to the idiosyncrasies, so the relative proportions would be different. Thus I gained at one time knowledge of the Eucharistic Sacrifice ; at another, that adoration was anciently offered to the Blessed Eucharist ; at a third, that the Real Presence was most spiritually expressed by transubstantiation. I assumed from my teachers the antiquity and necessity of bishops, but was left to gain as I could a notion of the relation between the members of the episcopate to each other, and their mode of action in the whole body. Again, the all-important doctrine of grace, and its relation to the sacraments, was left to be learnt at hazard ; so the doctrine of the one holy Catholic Church, which to so many Protestants never is a reality at all, any more than so many millions of individuals make a nation. Through the whole thirteen years I did my best to reach truth and certainty on these matters, but there was no foundation for either, as all was left to the process of my private judgment.

How different has it been in the past three years : from the fixed centre of teaching in the Catholic Church immobility of faith, growth of subjective perception, stability of mind, are provided for all alike. In this the most ignorant and most learned stand on equal footing. There the peasant finds a fixed belief which can support him in life and in death, there the gigantic mind of St. Thomas can revel in drawing out the most secret relations of doctrine. If the former state be the feeble, wayward, uncertain step of infancy, this assuredly is the settled walk of manhood.

Again, in the former case the individual is put in the indecent position of teaching his community ; trying to elevate it, and bestowing right views upon it.

In the latter the individual is taught by the community, merged in it, exceeded by it on all sides.

The almost necessary moral conditions of the former state are pride of intellect and sense of independence unnaturally stimulated, while at the same time there is real weakness, continual hesitation, sense of loneliness, and the suspicion of self-deceit ever dodging one.

In the latter while the individual meets with absolute humiliation, almost annihilation, verifying our Lord's saying that we must enter into the kingdom of heaven as little children, yet everyone feels himself invested with the whole strength of a world-wide

community, he has confidence in truth as objective and independent of himself, and attested by God to an innumerable multitude of believing and answering hearts. Hence a confidence firm-fixed as the centre of the earth, not grounded on individual qualities, but on power, wisdom, and goodness, shown in their highest manifestation among men, the creation and maintenance of a Church infallibly teaching truth. Contrast, for instance, the timid feeling after the Real Presence in a Puseyite congregation, with the faith which reigns over man, woman, and child, in a Catholic church, at the presence of the Host.

In the former state, once more, there was an habitual suspicion of unreality in ordinances, which one was striving to make *more* of than the general sense of one's community warranted. No one, I can venture to say, tried and pushed further the trial of Holy Communion in the Anglican Church than I did myself, but I could not protect myself from the inroad of doubt as to whether what I most wished was real. How different has it been with Catholic ordinances ! I had not attended mass daily for three months, in that most unromantic of places of worship, Warwick Street, which in outward look was most like a meeting-house, and what as an Anglican I could not have prayed in, when I felt how intolerably absurd and groundless were all Protestant objections against worship of saints, and patronage of our Blessed Lady. The mass alone confuted them ;

they vanished out of its presence as impure fogs generated by human malice and weakness. Before that ineffably awful and winning doctrine of the Redeemer present with His Church, of the flesh and blood of an incarnate God, the notion that any reverence to those in whose bodies He had dwelt, any love to Her whose milk He had deigned to drink, could lessen by a hair's breadth the immeasurable distance between the Creator and the creature, seemed unspeakably absurd.

All was solved by the difference of being *without* and *within*.

November 23.—I must add to the above the new-born sense of being in conformity with one's community. For five years, at least, when I became a Catholic, I had been living, as to the interior life, in complete isolation, rather, utter antagonism to all which prevailed around me. Certainly, after the view which, in July 1845, was granted to me of the Catholic Church, Anglicanism never satisfied me. This is far too little to say. I had got to the root of the difference, to the first principles on which these religious communities are respectively built. My spirit at least fully embraced those of the former, however my actual life might be beneath them, following a humbler track, and consequently I was rubbed and fretted by those of the latter at every turn. I had seen self-denial, self-chosen poverty, the enduring crucifixion of the flesh and spirit, on the one side ;

on the other, I was encompassed by decent respectability, taking very tranquilly the practical heathenism, in the midst of which it inhabited quiet abodes of peace and plenty. A life of the *natural* man, free from scandalous vices, and often generating a high degree of the domestic virtues, which an old Roman *ménage* in the time of Dentatus might have shown as well, made up the Anglican ministry. Anything approaching to the Pauline standard (2 Cor. ii. 23-8) was not to be found. Whereas the Roman priesthood bore the Pauline stigmata continually on its person. And in exact accordance with this, I saw, on the one side, the spirit of dogmatic truth; on the other, the spirit of indifference, utterly latitudinarian, varying with each individual what it called *fundamental* articles, and reducing, in fact, the Christian Faith to every man's opinion—a veritable rope of sand. The one thing uncared for in the whole mass of discordant documents which comprise the symbolical writings of Anglicanism—that is, the Prayer Book, with its rubrics, and the Articles—was truth as such; for this *compromise* was substituted, a compromise which every religious party in turn despised, assaulted, and disregarded.

It followed that no sooner had I crossed the border, no sooner planted my foot on St. Peter's rock, than I felt myself lifted from shifting sands on which there was no footing, to an impregnable fortress, round which the conflicts of human opinion rage in vain.

A A

The direct consequence of truth, as such, being disregarded, of a system founded on *compromise*, is that every one is equally positive, and equally uncertain, in no two years of his course exactly the same, and in all phases alike a simple individual, not a member of a community, since all existence of a fixed religion, standing out objectively before its subjects, and claiming their allegiance, is radically impossible, and, indeed, comes to be despised as a servitude. The Catholic's glory is the Protestant's *bête-noire*. Now the effect of my reading the Scriptures by the Fathers was to desire and look for exactly such a system, a system whose public *law* was revealed truth, with the Church its guardian and exponent, exactly as written law in any temporal State is the blood, as it were, of civil life, the maintenance and purity of which the State jealously guards. In the Catholic Church I found this at once, and I felt that I found it; the contrast was so great from constructing a Church of my own to inheriting that founded and maintained by Christ.

But, more than all, and through all the above, there was, in becoming a Catholic, the sense of being where Christ crucified is set forth in every doctrine and principle. Protestantism had for years seemed to me nothing but Christianity without the Cross—the substitution of *human* motives, *natural* doctrines, and *natural* virtues, for grace, truth, faith, hope, and charity: a system of naturalism had been the grand result of a revolt against the divine city wherein the

Crucified One is King. Whereas, at the bottom of all religious orders, of all the teaching and ministrations of the Church, what is there but the Cross? the cutting oneself off from innocent pleasures, the detaching oneself from the world and all its bonds, for Christ's sake, and after Christ's example, and to save one's neighbour and oneself. Protestantism, and specially our form of it, Anglicanism, as it reduced truth to the holding of individual opinions, so it reduced teaching and ministering from being the simple exhibition of Christ to the world, marked with the nails, the scourging, and the thorns, and therefore drawing all men unto Him, to a worldly system of rewards and prizes, of comforts and home delights, tolerable as a moral police, and admirably clever in this country as a political institution, but powerless to do Christ's work. The weakness of the individual may, in the former system, fall in numberless instances below such a divine ideal, but there it is, set up in the world. If Catholics be but true to what they are taught, Catholicism is Christ Himself in the world, teaching and converting it. This is the most sovereign of proofs, the most convincing logic. Protestants may be better than their system; they often are, for '*Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*;' but of no Catholic could it ever be said that he is better than his system, for the innermost principles on which it is built are Christ crucified—give up this world and all that it contains for God, for your soul,

for your neighbour. To have this world and the next too is more than Christ had and more than He promised to His followers.

For all these reasons, in becoming a Catholic there was the sense that I was entering the palace of truth and goodness. I have sufficiently expressed how, both on the moral and the intellectual side, Protestantism had been to me desolate and desolating. From that hour to this I have never ceased to admire the solid, cohesive structure of Catholic truth, the world-conquering force of Catholic charity. So, I doubt not, it will be to the latest hour of my being; and, combined with the sense of security and of love, which has a worthy object, in the system where I now am, will be the feeling of the wretchedness one has undergone in the desolate tracts swept over by the currents of human opinion, and marked in so many different paths by the traces of human ambition and natural desires.

November 23, 1853.

EPILOGUE.

PARIS AND HELEN.

AND now, at the end of thirty years, I cast one look back at the generation which has passed since the struggle, on the description of which, so far as I was personally concerned, I have been engaged. Then one who had been the life and soul of the great movement of 1833, standing on the sea-shore, and looking out on the tumult of waves, which he had traversed, thus addressed those whom he saw still beaten about—the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto* :—

‘ A policy resting on such a state of mind as I have been describing, viz., to act as if the course of events itself would, some way or other, work for Apostolical truth, sooner or later, more or less, to let things alone, to do nothing, to make light of every triumph of the enemy from within or without, to waive the question of ecclesiastical liberty, to remain where you are, and go about your work in your own place, either contented to retard the course of events, or sanguine about an imaginary future, is simply to abandon the cause of the movement altogether. It is

simply to say that there is no providential destiny or object connected with it at all. You may be right, my brethren, this may be the case ; perhaps it is so. You have a right to this opinion ; but understand what you are doing. Do not deceive yourselves by words ; it is not a biding your time, as you may fancy, if you surrender the idea and the main principle of the movement ; it is the abandonment of your cause. You remain, indeed, in your place ; but it is no moral, no intellectual, but a mere secular, visible position which you occupy. Great men in warfare, when they are beaten back from the open country, retire to the mountains and fortify them, in a territory which is their own. You have no place of refuge from the foe ; you have no place at all, no happy diocese or peaceful parish where you can utter and carry out securely those very things which you hold to be most true. Your retreat is an evacuation. You will remain in the Establishment in your person ; but your principles will be gone.

‘ I know how it will be—a course as undignified as it will be ineffectual. A sensation and talk whenever something atrocious is to be done by the State against the principles you profess, a meeting of friends here or there, an attempt to obtain an archidiaconal meeting, some spirited remarks in two or three provincial newspapers, an article in a review, a letter to some bishop, a protest signed respectably ; suddenly the news that the anticipated blow has

fallen, and *causa finita est*. A pause, and then the discovery that things are not so bad as they seemed to be, and that your Apostolical Church has come forth from the trial even stronger and more beautiful than before. Still a secret dissatisfaction and restlessness; a strong sermon at a visitation, and a protest after dinner when his lordship's charge is to be printed; a paragraph in a newspaper, saying how that most offensive proceedings are taking place in such and such a parish or chapel, how that there were flowers on the table, or that the curate has tonsured himself, or used oil and salt in baptising, or that in a benefit sermon the rector unchurched the Society of Friends, or that Popery is coming in amain upon our venerable Establishment, because a parsonage has been built in shape like a Trappist monastery. And then some new signs of life; the consecration of a new church, with clergy walking in gowns two and two, and the Bishop preaching on the decent performance of Divine service and the due decoration of the House of God; then a gathering in the Christian Knowledge rooms; a drawn battle and a compromise; and, every now and then, a learned theological work, doctrinal or historical, justifying the ecclesiastical principles on which the Anglican Church is founded, and refuting the novelties of Romanism; and lastly, on occasion of a contested election, or other political struggle, theology mingled with politics; the Liberal candidate rejected

fallen and broken. A pause, and then the
 discover that things are not so bad as they seemed
 to be. And the apostolical Church has come-
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 ful than ever. Still a secret dissatisfaction and
 restlessness. A long sermon at a visitation, and a
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by the aid of the High Church party on some critical question of religious policy; the Government annoyed or embarrassed; and a sanguine hope entertained of a ministry more favourable to Apostolical truth.'¹

If one had now to draw out a history of the last thirty years, and to bring into relief its salient points, could any picture be more lifelike than this? The anticipation of 1850 has become a chronicle in 1880. Daniel's prophecy of the four empires is so wonderfully verified in history, that the infidel can only maintain it was written after the event.

Perhaps an ingenious critic of the German school, if there be any surviving in 1980, will declare that there was a misprint in the book—5 is so like 8—and that it was really published in 1880 as a photograph of the preceding generation.

But is there any genesis at all in what is thus described? A birth presumes vital power. Here there is only a perpetual drift, pilotless, objectless; planks and oars crossing and knocking and trembling down a stream. A party which once presumed to be the voice of its Church now aspires only to be one of many sects tolerated in the pan-Anglican bosom, and so has reached the very terminus of the satirist's reproach—*propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. For what we see is the doctrine of the Christian Priesthood, introduced as a private opinion, and carried out in many churches with sympathising congregations, which, however, are not the natural growth of

¹ *Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans*, 1850. Pp. 99-101.

a continuous tradition, but flotsam and jetsam projected out of the battered ribs of a Noah's ark, the contents of which in general only agree in repudiating and denouncing the priesthood as in itself capital treason to the Anglican Establishment, such as it was constituted by the 'national settlement.' To please the motley crew therein contained an Act of Parliament is passed to enable the Bishops to exterminate the notion of a Sacrificing Priesthood. Whereupon the Bishop of London, on the one hand, and Lord Penzance, on the other—that is, a prelate who receives mission from the State to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, and the Judge, who is not merely a layman, but the organ of a lay supremacy, to enforce it—unite to put down the use of the visible emblems which betoken a belief in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Meanwhile, the party which professes to believe the same great doctrine, without which, be it observed, Ritualism is a nonentity, look on, waiting till every chicanery of legal delay, or technical nicety called in to elude the force of the law, be exhausted, and the final judgment fall.

Such, so far, and in the Anglican Church itself, is the result of the movement of 1833, which was to place it upon the firm basis of a Catholic Episcopate. Convocation, so often invoked, is at length permitted to meet; and year after year passes in silence over the Gorham judgment, and its destruction of that doctrine of the Creed which refers to Baptism. And

now the Bishops lend their willing aid to put down the exhibition of the Christian Priesthood, which, indeed, is only believed and practised by a minority of individuals in a communion which rejects it. This time there is no Achilles to sound and lead an alarm. The Epigoni of the movement, divided and in silence, watch the assault upon their ships. A few serfs, while they feel themselves in Egyptian bondage, sigh after Apostolical freedom, or relieve themselves by muttering contempt of the Bishops whose authority is shown in riveting their chains.

This is the general position, this the plan of warfare carried on for the maintenance of the faith in the Anglican Communion.

Now let me take an individual instance, partly because it was contemporary with myself, and fell under my notice, partly because it expresses, in the concrete, the conduct of a whole multitude which went half-way, and then stopped short; of men who hold bits of Catholic principles in a thoroughly Protestant establishment, and point to the shattered friezes of a rich old temple, stuck here and there in a mud wall, to show that they are within the sacred boundary of the Church of God.

I was present at a large meeting in a public resort at Westminster, on February 7, 1850, just before the issue of the Gorham judgment. The air was charged with the coming report, and one gallant speaker especially distinguished himself. If, he

said, they ventured to touch the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, they would see what would happen. He dared them to the trial. The speaker was applauded to the echo. A movement swept over the assembly of which he was the mouthpiece.

In a few days the judgment came out, which was simply that ministers of the Anglican religion might preach or deny baptismal regeneration, as they listed. Nobody should touch them for teaching or for contradicting it. What did the speaker do? He issued a protest, which was moonshine; for nothing followed on his part. Yes, I forgot, something did follow; he accepted an archdeaconry from a partially sympathetic Bishop. And once upon a time he stood forward as a champion for the doctrine of the Real Presence, maintaining that it was a doctrine of the Anglican Church. His challenge was taken up. But when the trial was coming on, his courage failed. It appeared that his act of challenge was more than two years old, and the law provided him with a retreat. This was the cloud which received the warrior. Forthwith this dainty Paris,

ἀψ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο, κῆρ' ἀλεείνων.

Since then he has been toying with the fair destroyer, 'the hell of ships, of men, of cities,' the Helen,¹ whose charms grow not old. From his well-

¹ Of whom it may be said : ἐπεὶ προπόντως ἑλέναυς ἑλανδρος ἐλέπτολις ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε Ζέφυρον γίγαντος αἰῶρα. The lust of Henry VIII. has wrought a ruin to which that of Paris was a puff of dust.

provisioned fortress, as Bishop's Eye, he surveys the adverse towers of his cathedral city, where an unsympathetic bishop has succeeded; marks how the flood of unbelief advances, and mourns that he has seen during every year of a long life the principles which he holds to be true decline and be frustrated.

I do not mention him as in any point of view less consistent than any other member of that large company addressed by Father Newman in 1850, who held the leading principles of the 'Tracts of the Times;' but I take him as a lively symbol of what all have done. And I ask, is this, indeed, a 'Life Worth Living'? Yet it is the life of many thousands who have lived and died between 1850 and 1880, and of many thousands more who are still detained in Helen's bower.

O Church of the living God, Pillar and Ground of the Truth, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army in battle array, O Mother of Saints and Doctors, Martyrs and Virgins, clothe thyself in the robe and aspect, as thou hast the strength, of Him whose Body thou art, the Love for our sake incarnate: shine forth upon thy lost children, and draw them to the double fountain of thy bosom, the well-spring of Truth and Grace.

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